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C. IVLI CAESARIS  
BELLICIVILIS

LIBRI III

RECENSUIT

ALFRED HOLDER.



172506  
4/7/22

LIPSIAE  
IN AEDIBVS B. G. TEVBNERI.  
ⓄDCCCLXXXVIII.

Handwritten text, possibly a title or author name, including the word "LIPSIÆ".

LIPSIÆ: TYPIS B. G. TEUBNERI.

OTTONI · KELLER

VIRO · FIDE · ET · AMICITIA · PER · DVO · DE · XXXX · ANNOS  
SINE · VLLA · ANIMI · LAESIONE · CONIVNCTISSIMO

DIEM · NATALEM · SEXAGENSVMVM

EX · ANIMI · SENTENTIA

GRATVLATVR

EDITOR

# THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

1679

## PRAEFATIO

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EX quo tempore belli Gallici libros in lucem emisimus<sup>1)</sup>, complures codices Caesariani mihi innotuerunt, qui aut nondum a me inspecti erant aut prorsus latebant. Tribus igitur itineribus in Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam factis per singulos menses non solum belli Gallici codices excussi, sed etiam de bello ciuili commentarios ad optimos libros retractaui aut primus eos ita contuli, ut uix de ulla lectione supersit dubitatio. Solum codicem Masciacensem (*U*), quem quo minus ante hos XI annos absoluerem temporis angustiae impedi-erant, intercedente Karolo Schenkl Vindobonensi fautore optimo Karolus Prinz, futurus Tychonii editor, dum Romae degit, accuratissime et liberalissime in meum usum contulit.

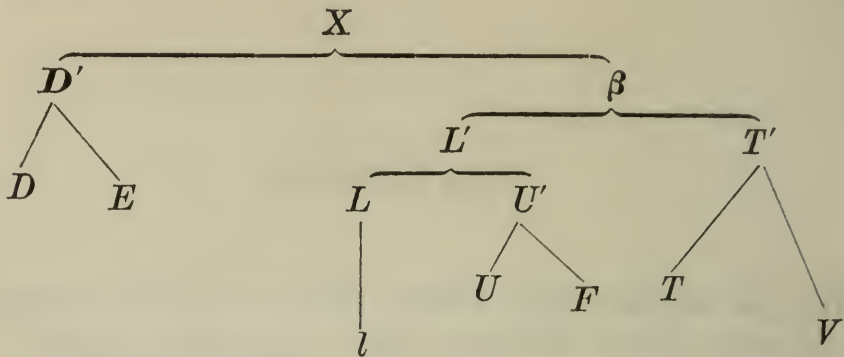
Codicem Treuericum (*V*) per Wilhelmum von Hartel, qua est liberalitate, in hac ipsa urbe conferre mihi licuit; de libri fati Alfredus Goeldlin von Tiefenau officiosissime certio-rem me fecit.

Librum Louaniensem (*E*), quem in Belgis frustra quae-siueram, ante hos IIII fere annos Londinii inter additos museo Britannico codices repertum conlatumque fratrem germanum Bellouacensis (*D*) esse cognoui; unde, quantum fructus ad indagandum inter ordines  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$  conexum redundet, uix est quod lectorem moneam.

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1) C. Iuli Caesaris belli Gallici libri VII Accessit A. Hirti liber octauus Recensuit A. H. Freiburg i. B. und Tübingen 1882 Akademie-liche Buchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 8° VIII et 396 pagg.

De utriusque belli Caesariani libris manu scriptis cum alio loco disserere mihi in animo sit, CTEMMA adpinxisse sufficiat, ex quo nemo non facile intellet, unde singuli libri orti sint, et quo modo inter se et cum communi archetypo cohaereant:



*X* = codex omnium archetypus.

*D'* = librorum *D* et *E* consensus.

*Deficit* I 6, 1 Pompeius — 2 senatus, 7 tota — 9 refertur  
 40, 16 cuius — 17 legionibus  
 74, 13 interim — 14 adducunt  
 II 1, 1 Dum — legatus  
 6, 11 uero — 12 neque  
 24, 9 abest — mille  
 27, 11 suas — 28, 1 Varus  
 31, 17 an — 19 tegenda  
 III 5, 7 -diis — 8 Scri-  
 13, 3 simul — 4 incidit  
 30, 16 per — 18 peruenit  
 43, 6 haec — 48, 6 iaciebant  
 60, 19 cum — 61, 1 erant; *cf.* 99, 4—5

*D* = codex sancti Petri Beluacensis, nunc Laurentianus inter Ashburnhamianos 33, saec. X—XI.

*E* = codex Torrentii, deinde Louaniensis collegii societatis Iesu, nunc musei Britannici Add. 10084, saec. XI.

*β* = librorum *L'* et *T'* consensus.

*L'* = *L* (*l*) et *U'*.

*L* = Laurentianus inter Mediceos 8 plutei LXVIII, saeculis partim XI (I 33,6 duum — III 4,25 impio, 73,21 Quod — 106,11 dubi<sup>ta</sup>uerat), partim XII exeunte (III 4,25 aut



— 73, 21 sarciretur, 106, 11 atq; — 112, 33 interfect') scriptus.

- Deficit* I 1, 1 — 33, 6 tri  
 II 5, 18 si — 19 confiderent  
 17, 4 -cessitudinem — 6 ignorare  
 18, 19 praesidia — 20 reddebat  
 III 46, 15 et — 16 coegerunt  
 63, 1 et — 2 X  
 76, 8 alii — 9 progrediebantur  
 87, 18 et — uictoriam  
 94, 9 factae — 10 isdem.

Hinc descriptus est

*l* = Laurentianus inter Mediceos 6 plutei LXVIII, saeculo XIII ineunte litteris Langobardicis exaratus.

*U'* = librorum *U* et *F'* consensus.

*Deficit* I 47, 4 et initio — 5 tenuissent  
 II 33, 1 Qua — uiderentur, 10 siue — milites.

*U* = codex Fuluii Vrsini Lat. 18 nunc Vaticanus 3324, olim abbatae Masciacensis dioeceseos Bituricae, saec. XI/XII.

*F'* = Florentinus Riccardianus 541, olim dominorum de Tranchedinis di Pontremulo, saeculi XII ineuntis.

*T'* = librorum *T* et *V* consensus.

*Deficit* III 49, 7 non — 8 multitudine  
 101, 5 prius — Messanam  
 109, 15 accepto — 16 alter, *cf.* III 33, 2.

*T* = Thuaneus nunc Parisiacus 5764, saeculi XI.

*V* = Vindobonensis 95, olim sancti Eucharrii primi Treuirorum archiepiscopi, saeculi XII exeuntis.

His accedit

*r* = editio princeps Romana a. M.CCCC.LXIX.

In recensendis scriptoris uerbis id potissimum egi, ut archetypi speciem ante oculos ponerem, a qua nisi monito lectore nusquam discessi; ea omnia autem, quae inmutanda uiderentur, litteris *inclinatis*, quae addenda aut delenda, < > et [ ] uncinis circum scripsimus.

In emendandi munere FRANCISCO BVECHELER V. CL. duce inter grammaticos fidissimo usum me esse laeto gratoque animo profiteor, qui non solum perlegendarum plagularum negotium mecum ultro partitus est, uerum etiam palmaribus quibusdam coniecturis mecum communicatis de hoc libro optime meruit.

Dabam Carolsruhae idibus Mais a. h. s. LXXXXVIII.



## I.

1        1. \*\*\* Litteris [a Fabio] C. Caesaris consulibus redditis  
 aegre ab his impetratum est summa tribunorum plebis con-  
 tentione, ut in senatu recitarentur; ut uero ex litteris ad  
 2 senatum referretur, impetrari non potuit. referunt consules  
 de re p(ublica) *in*finit[at]e. L. Lentulus consul senatui rei- 5  
 <que> p(ublicae) se non defuturum pollicetur, si audacter au  
 3 fortiter sententias dicere uelint; sin Caesarem respiciant atque  
 eius gratiam sequantur, ut superioribus fecerint temporibus,  
 se sibi consilium capturum neque senatus auctoritatei ob-  
 temperaturum; habere se quoque ad Caesaris gratiam atque 10  
 4 amicitiam receptum. in eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio:  
 Pompeio esse in animo rei p(ublicae) non deesse, si senatus  
 sequatur: si cunctetur atque agat lenius, nequiquam eius  
 auxilium, si postea uelit, senatum imploraturum.

1        2. Haec Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habebatur  
 Pompeiusque aderat, ex ipsius ore Pompei mitti uidebatur.  
 2 dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam, ut primo M. Marcellus,  
 ingressus in eam orationem, non oportere ante de ea re ad  
 senatum referri, quam dilectus tota Italia habitei et exercitus 5  
 conscripti essent, quo praesidio tuto et libere senatus, quae  
 3 uellet, decernere auderet; ut M. Calidius, qui censebat,  
 ut Pompeius in suas prouincias proficisceretur, nequ<a>e esset

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De ciuili bello. Incipit Liber Non<sup>3</sup>. *D* INCIPIT liber NONVS *E* In-  
 cip. lib. VIII belli ciuili *U* Incip̄ lib Non<sup>3</sup>. *B*. ciuit *F* INCIPIT LIBER  
 PRIMVS BELLi CIVILIS.: FELICITER: *T* Incip̄ lib<sup>1</sup> pm<sup>9</sup>. Ciuili belli *V*

1, 1—33, 6 tri- *def L* || 1 \*\*\* *Glandorp* | a fabio *post* cesaris *E*, *del*  
*Vossius* || 5 infinite *Hotman* (INFIDELÆ), incitatu ui *Giesing* : in ciuitate ||  
 6 q: *r* || 6—7 aut fortit̄ *om F*<sup>1</sup> || 6 au *U*<sup>1</sup> aut *lT'* ac *D' U*<sup>2</sup> || 9 auctori-  
 tati *β* -tē (-tem *D*) *D'* || 11 recepturū *T'* || 12 rei p. *β* eripe *D'*

2, 2 aberat *Vettori* || 3 ut *β*, *om D'* || 5 dilectus *β* del- *D'* | habiti  
 et *D' T'* habiti (ab- *U'*) *L'* || 7 ut *β* at *D'*

armorum causa; timere Caesarem, ereptis ab eo duabus legio-  
nibus, ne ad eius periculum reseruare et retinere eas ad urbem 10  
Pompeius uideretur; ut M. Rufus, qui sententiam Calidi pau-  
4 cis fere mutatis rebus sequebatur. hi omnes conuicio L. Len-  
5 tuli consulis correpti exagitabantur. Lentulus sententiam  
Calidi pronuntiaturum se omnino negauit, Marcellus perterri-  
6 tus conuiciis a sua sententia discessit. sic uocibus consulis, 15  
terrore pr<a>esentis exercitus, minis amicorum Pompei pleri-  
que compulsi inuiti et coacti Scipionis sententiam secuntur:  
uti ante certam diem Caesar exercitum dimittat; si non faciat,  
7 eum aduersus rem p(ublicam) facturum uideri. intercedit  
M. Antonius, Q. Cassius, tr(ibunus) pl(ebis). refertur confestim 20  
8 de intercessione tribunorum. dicuntur sententiae graues; ut  
quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime  
ab inimicis Caesaris conlaudatur.

1       **3.** Misso ad uesperum senatu omnes, qui sunt eius ordi-  
nis, a Pompeio euocantur. laudat p<r>omptos atque in poste-  
2 rum confirmat, se<g>niores castigat atque incitat. multi  
undique ex ueteribus Pompei exercitibus spe pr<a>emiorum 5  
atque ordinum euocantur, multi ex duabus leg(ionibus), quae  
3 sunt traditae a Caesare, arcessuntur. completur urbs et [ius]  
4 comitium tr(ibunis) [pl.], centurio(nibus), euocat(is). omnes  
amici consulum, necessarii Pompei atque eorum, qui ueteres  
5 inimicitias cum Caesare gerebant, in senatum coguntur; quo-  
rum uocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores, dubii con- 10  
firmantur, plerisque uero libere decernendi potestas eripitur.  
6 pollicetur L. Piso censor sese iturum ad Caesarem, item  
L. Roscius praetor, qui de his rebus eum doceant; sex dies  
7 ad eam rem conficiendam spatii postulant. dicuntur etiam

9 ereptis *Nipperdey*: correptis || 11 ut  $\beta$  at  $D'$  | qui  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 12 re-  
bus] uerbis  $r$  | conuicio  $DlT'$  conuit-  $EU'$  || 14 calidi  $D'U'$  -dii  $lT'$  ||  
15 conuiciis  $D'lF$  conuit-  $UT'$  || 16 pleriq.  $\beta$  a plerisque  $D'$  || 17 con-  
pulsus  $DlT'$  cōp-  $EU'$  | inuiti  $lT'$  inuiti  $U'$  multi  $D'$  | secuntur  $DT$   
sequunt<sup>2</sup>  $EL\check{V}$  || 19 remp.  $D'T'$  rei p.  $L'$  || 22 crudelissime  $\beta$ , om  $D'$

**3**, 2 promptos *Pantagato*: pompeius || 3 seniores  $r$ : seniores ||  
6 arcess(-ers  $U^1T$ )unt<sup>2</sup> $lUT'$  <sup>r</sup>acesaiunt<sup>2</sup>  $F'$  arcescuntur  $D$  accersiunt<sup>2</sup>  $E$  |  
completur  $D$  compl-  $E\beta$  | et] ad  $l$  | ius del *Hoffmann* || 7 comitium  $lU$ ,  
 $F'$  corr cōittū  $T$  committū  $D$  comitum  $EFprV$  | tribunis, centurio-  
nibus, euocatis *Oudendorp*: tr. ( $U'T'$  trōs [tribunos  $E$ ]  $D'l$ ,  $U$  corr)  
pl. (pleuis  $E$ ) centurio euocat.



ab nonnullis sententiae, ut legati ad Caesarem mittantur, qui 15.  
uoluntatem senatus ei proponant.

1 4. Omnibus his resistitur omnibusque oratio cons(ulis),  
Seipionis, Catonis opponitur. Catonem ueteres inimicitiae  
2 Caesaris incitant et dolor repulsae. Lentulus aeris alieni  
magnitudine et spe exercitus ac prouinciarum et regum ap-  
pellandorum largitionibus mouetur seque alterum fore Syl- 5  
lam inter suos gloriatur, ad quem summa imperii redeat.  
3 Scipionem eadem spes prouinciae atque exercituum impellit,  
quos se pro necessitudine partiturum cum Pompeio arbitratur,  
simul iudiciorum metus, adulatio atque ostentatio sui et po-  
tentium, qui in re p(ublica) iudicisque tum plurimum polle- 10  
4 bant. ipse Pompeius ab inimicis Caesaris incitatus et quod  
neminem dignitate secum exaequari uolebat, totum se ab eius  
amicitia auerterat et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam  
redierat, quorum ipse maximam partem illo adfinitatis tem-  
5 pore iniunxerat Caesari; simul infamia duarum legionum per- 15  
motus, quas ab itinere Asiae Syriaeque ad suam potentiam  
dominatumque conuerterat, rem ad arma deduci studebat.

1 5. His de causis aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate. nec  
docendi Caesaris propinquis eius spatium datur nec tr(ibunis)  
pl(ebis) sui periculi deprecandi neque etiam extremi iuris inter-  
cessione retinendi, quod L. Sylla reliquerat, facultas tribuitur,  
2 sed de sua salute septimo die cogitare coguntur, quod illi 5  
turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus tr(ibuni) pl(ebis) <post>  
octo denique menses uariarum actionum respicere ac timere  
3 consuerant. decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum  
s(enatus) c(onsultum), quo nisi p(a)ene in ipso urbis incendio  
atque in desperatione omnium salutis <re>latorum audacia num- 10  
quam ante discessum est: dent operam consules, pr(aetores),  
tr(ibuni) pl(ebis), quique <pro> cons(ulibus) sunt ad urbem,

4, 1 oratio] *spatium 11 litterarum T* || 2 opponit<sup>2</sup>  $\beta$  apponitur *D'* ||  
5 sillā *U'* || 6 summa  $\beta$  summit (sumit *E*) *D'* || 10 iudicis *T'* -ciis  
*D' L'* || 15 caesari *L'* caesar *ET'* caesa *D* || 16 syrię *ELT'* siriae *D U'* |  
que  $\beta$ , om *D'*

5, 1 rapti *EV* raptim *DLT'* || 4 sylla *lT* silla *D'UV* || 5 septu-  
mo *D* septimo *lFT'* VII. *EU* || 6 <post> *Dinter* || 7 octo  $\beta$  octauo *V*  
*corr* orto *D'* | menses uariarū  $\beta$  mense suarum *D'* || 8 cōsuerant *l* con-  
suerat *D'UT'* cōsueuerat *F* || 10 relatorum *Giesing* : latorum || 12 <pro>  
*Pantagato* | sunt om *T'*

4 nequid res p(ublica) detrimenti capiat. haec s(enatus) c(onsulto) perscribuntur a. d. vii. id. Ian. itaque v primis die-  
bus, quibus haberi senatus potuit, qua ex die consulatum 15  
iniit Lentulus, biduo excepto comitali et de imperio Caesaris  
et de amplissimis uiris, tr(ibunis) pl(ebis), grauissime acerbis-  
5 simeque decernitur. profugiunt statim ex urbe tr(ibunis) pl(e-  
bis) seseque ad Caesarem conferunt. is eo tempore erat Ra-  
uennae expectabatque suis leuissimis postulatis responsa, si- 20  
qua hominum aequitate res ad otium deduci posset.

1     **6.** Proximis diebus habetur extra urbem senatus. Pom-  
peius eadem illa, quae per Scipionem ostenderat, agit; senatus  
uirtutem constantiamque conlaudat; copias suas exponit: le-  
2 giones habere sese paratas x; praeterea cognitum comper-  
tumque sibi alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites neque is 5  
posse persuaderi, uti eum defendant aut sequantur saltem.  
3 de reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia dilectus  
habea<n>tur; Faustus Sylla prope in Mauretanium mittatur;  
pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur; refertur etiam de rege  
4 Iuba, ut socius sit atque amicus. Marcellus co(n)s(ul) pas- 10  
surum in praesentia negat; de Fausto impedit Philippus,  
5 tr(ibunus) pl(ebis). de reliquis rebus s(enatus) c(onsulta)  
perscribuntur. prouinciae priuatis decernuntur, duae consu-  
lares, reliquae praetoriae. Scipioni obuinit Syria, L. Domitio  
Gallia. Philippus et Cotta priuato consilio praetereuntur, 15  
neque eorum sortes deiciuntur. in reliquas prouincias prae-  
6 tores mittuntur. neque expectant, quod superioribus annis  
acciderat, ut de eorum imperio ad populum feratur, paluda-  
7 tique uotis nuncupatis exeunt. coss(ules), quod ante id tem-  
pus accidit numquam, ex urbe proficiscuntur, lictoresque ha- 20  
bent in urbe et Capitolio priuati contra omnia uetustatis ex-  
8 empla. tota Italia dilectus habentur, arma imperantur, pecu-

14 Itaq. β ique D iisq; E || 20 lenissimis Beroaldo

6, 1 Pompeius—2 senatus om D' || 5 iis D' his L' hiis T' || 6 sal-  
tem. UT ut statī saltī V a. statī Uuar statī F' Statñ saltē (hoc  
del m. 2) l, om D' || 7 tota—9 refertur om D' || 8 habeant<sup>2</sup> r : habeantur | Sylla lU silla F' illa T' | mauritaniam β | mittatur l mittitur  
U' T' || 10 consul Madvig : non D n̄ Eβ || 13 p̄scribuntur U' || 14 syria  
ElT' siria DU' || 19 uotis (uatis l) β uo D' uotis <non> Glandorp ||  
21 et Mamuzio : ex | priuati D' -tim β || 22 dilectus D' T' del- L'



niae a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia diuina humanaque iura permiscetur.

1       7. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contiona-  
tur. omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum in se comme-  
morat; a quibus deductum ac deprauatum Pompeium queritur  
inuidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cuius ipse honori et  
2 dignitati semper fauerit adiutorque fuerit. nouum in re p(u- 5  
blica) introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia inter-  
cessio armis uotaretur atque opprimeretur, quae superioribus  
3 annis armis esset restituta. Syllam nudata omnibus rebus  
tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse;  
4 Pompeium, qui amissa restituisset uideatur bona, etiam, 10  
5 quae ante habuerint, ademisse. quotienscumque sit decretum,  
darent operam magistratus, nequid res p(ublica) detrimenti  
caperet, qua uoce et quo s(enatus) c(onsulto) p(opulus) R(o-  
manus) ad arma sit uocatus, factum in perniciosis legibus,  
in ui tribunicia, in secessione populi, templis locisque editio- 15  
6 ribus occupatis; atque haec superioris aetatis exempla ex-  
piata Saturnini atque Gracchorum casibus docet. quarum  
rerum illo tempore nihil factum, ne cogitatum quidem: nulla  
lex promulgata, non cum populo agi coeptum, nulla secessio  
7 facta. hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu VIII annis rem 20  
p(ublicam) felicissime gesserint plurimaque praelia secunda  
fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacauerint, ut eius  
8 existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. concla-  
mant legionis XIII, quae aderat, milites (hanc enim initio  
tumultus euocauerat, reliquae nondum conuenerant) sese pa- 25  
ratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque pl(ebis) iniurias  
defendere.

1       8. Cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione

23 e U' T' & D' l

7, 3 deprauatū EU' V depriuatū DIT || 7 uetaretur Madvig :  
notaretur || 8 armis om E | nudata β -tum D priuatū E || 9 tribunitia  
(-nica V) potestate tam β tribuniciam (-tiā E) tamen potestatem D' |  
intercessionem β -ne D' | liberā (-ra V) Eβ -rum D || 10 bona Vet-  
tori : dona || 11 habuerint β abuerit D habuerat E || 14 pnic(t T)iosis  
β pernitiosis D' || 17 saturnini β saturni D saturni E || 18 ne lT nec  
D' U' V || 18 nulla om V || 21 praelia DF plia E lUT' || 24 legiones  
DTpr

proficiscitur ibique tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), qui ad eum confu-  
 rant, conuenit; reliquas legiones ex hibernis euocat et sub-  
 2 sequi iubet. eo L. Caesar adulescens uenit, cuius pater Cae-  
 saris erat legatus. is reliquo sermone confecto, cuius rei 5  
 causa uenerat, habere se a Pompeio ad eum priuati[m] of-  
 3 ficii mandata demonstrat: uelle Pompeium se Caesari purga-  
 tum, ne ea, quae rei p(ublicae) causa egerit, in suam contu-  
 meliam uertat. semper se rei p(ublicae) commoda priuatis  
 necessitudinibus habuisse potiora. Caesarem quoque pro sua 10  
 dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam rei p(ublicae)  
 dimittere neque adeo grauitur irasci inimicis, ut, cum illis  
 4 nocere se speret, rei p(ublicae) noceat. pauca eiusdem generis  
 addit cum excusatione Pompei coniuncta. eadem fere atque  
 eisdem rebus praetor Roscius agit cum Caesare sibi que Pom- 15  
 peium commemorasse demonstrat.

1 9. Quae res etsi nihil ad leuandas iniurias pertinere  
 uidebantur, tamen idoneos nactus homines, per quos ea, quae  
 uellet, ad eum perferrentur, petit ab utroque, quoniam Pom-  
 pei mandata ad se detulerint, ne grauentur sua quoque ad  
 eum postulata deferre, si paruo labore magnas controuersias 5  
 2 tollere atque omnem Italiam metu liberare possint. sibi sem-  
 per primam fuisse dignitatem uitaeque potiore. doluisse se,  
 quod p(opuli) Ro(man)i beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab  
 inimicis extorqueretur ereptoque semenstri imperio in urbem  
 retraheretur, cuius absentis rationem haberi proximis comitiis 10  
 3 populus iussisset. tamen hanc iacturam honoris sui rei p(u-  
 blicae) causa aequo animo tulisse; cum litteras ad senatum  
 miserit, ut omnes ab exercitibus discederent, ne id quidem  
 4 impetrauisset. tota Italia dilectus haberi, retineri leg(iones)  
 II, quae ab se simulatione Parthici belli sint abductae, ciui- 15  
 5 tatem esse in armis. quoniam haec omnia nisi ad suam per-  
 niciem pertinere? sed tamen ad omnia se descendere para-

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8, 2 confugerant  $\beta$  -runt  $D'$  || 4 adulescens  $D$  adol-  $E\beta$  || 6 pri-  
 uati *Beroaldo* : priuati  $ELT$  -tum  $DV$  || 12 ut  $T$  ne  $l$ , om  $D'U'V$  ||  
 15 rebus] uerbis *Clarke* | que  $\beta$ , om  $D'$

9, 3 pompeii  $L'T$  pompeii  $D'V$  || 7 dignitatem  $\beta$  -ate  $D'$  || 8 po-  
 puli Romani beneficium *Aldo* : p beneficio | p contumeliam  $U'T'$  con-  
 tumelia  $lD$  contumelias  $E$  || 14 impetrauisset  $l$  : im( $\bar{i}-V$ )petrauisset |  
 ha(a-  $D$ )bere  $D'$  haberi  $\beta$  || 15 parthici  $EL'$  partici  $DT'$



tum atque omnia pati rei p(ublicae) causa. proficiscatur Pompeius in suas prouincias, ipsi exercitus dimittant, discedant in Italia omnes ab armis, metus e ciuitate tollatur, libera 20 comitia atque omnis res p(ublica) senatui populoque R(omano) 6 permittatur. haec quo facilius certisque conditionibus fiant et iure iurando sanciantur, aut ipse propius accedat aut se patiatur accedere; fore, uti per conloquia omnes controuersiae componantur. 25

1 10. Acceptis mandatis Roscius cum Caesare Capuam peruenit ibique consules Pompeiumque inuenit; postulata 2 Caesaris renuntiat. illi deliberata <re> respondent scriptaque ad eum mandata per eos<dem> remittunt, quorum haec erat 3 summa: Caesar in Galliam reuerteretur, Arimino excederet, 5 exercitus dimitteret; quae si fecisset, Pompeium in Hispanias 4 iturum. interea, quoad fides esset data Caesarem facturum, quae polliceretur, non intermissuros consules Pompeiumque dilectus.

1 11. Erat iniqua conditio postulare, ut Caesar Arimino excederet atque in prouinciam reuerteretur, ipsum et prouincias et legiones alienas tenere; exercitum Caesaris uelle 2 mitti, dilectus habere; polliceri se in prouinciam iturum neque, ante quem diem iturus sit, definire, ut, si peracto con- 5 s(ulatu) Caesaris non[s] profectus esset, nulla tamen mendaci 3 religione obstrictus uideretur; tempus uero conloquio non dare neque accessurum polliceri magnam pacis desperationem 4 adferebat. itaque ab Arimino M. Antonium cum cohortibus v Arretium mittit; ipse Arimini cum duabus [legionibus] 10 subsistit ibique dilectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam singulis cohortibus occupat.

20 in (om V) italia omnes  $D' l T'$  oēs (oīs F) in italia  $U'$  | e  $U' T'$  a  $l D'$  || 22 conditionibus  $E U' T'$  cōditionib;  $l$  conditionibus  $D$  || 23 sanciantur  $L'$  sanciat  $D$  sanctiat<sup>2</sup> (iat<sup>2</sup> in ras V)  $E T'$  || 25 componantur  $D$  cōp-  $E \beta$

10, 2 ibique] que om  $U'$  || 3 <re> Gruter | eosdem Hotman : eos  $D' L' V$ , om  $T$  || 7 cē(ce-  $L' V$ )sarē  $\beta$  cum caesarem  $D'$

11, 1 Erat om  $D'$  | conditio  $U' T'$  cōdicio  $l$  conditione  $D$  conditione  $E$  || 3 alienas] absentem Paul || 4 pollicere  $D$  -ri  $E \beta$  || 5 pacto Hoffmann | cōs cesar<sup>is pompeius</sup>  $l$  cōs cae(ce-  $T$ )saris  $U T$  cesaris  $F$  cōs cesari<sup>s</sup>  $V$  cae(ce-  $E$ )saris  $D'$  || 6 non Nipperdey : cons (consulatu  $E$ )  $D'$  cons  $L' T$  cōs (in ras.)  $V$ , del  $l^2$  | pfectus  $E l$  pref-  $D U' T'$  | mendaci  $D'$  -ac(t-  $T'$ )ii  $\beta$  || 10 legionibus del Davies || 11 sub(cō  $V$ )sistit  $\beta$  substitit  $D'$

1        12. Interea certior factus Egiuium Thermum pr(aeto-  
rem) cohortibus v tenere, oppidum munire, omniumque esse  
Eguinorum optimam erga se uoluntatem, Curionem cum tri-  
bus cohortibus, quas Pisauri et Arimini habebat, mittit.  
2 cuius aduentu cognito diffisus municipii uoluntati Thermus 5  
cohortes ex urbe reducit et profugit. milites in itinere ab  
3 eo discedunt ac domum reuertuntur. Curio summa omnium  
uoluntate Egiuium recipit. quibus rebus cognitis confisus  
municipiorum uoluntatibus Caesar cohortes leg(ionis) XIII ex  
pr(a)esidiis deducit Auximumque proficiscitur; quod oppidum 10  
Attius cohortibus introductis tenebat dilectumque toto Piceno  
circummissis senatoribus habebat.

1        13. Aduentu Caesaris cognito decuriones Auximi ad  
Attium Varum frequentes conueniunt; docent sui iudicii rem  
non esse; neque se neque reliquos municipes pati posse C.  
Caesarem imperatorem, bene de re p(ublica) meritum, tantis  
rebus gestis oppido moenibusque prohiberi: proinde habeat 5  
2 rationem posteritatis et periculi sui. quorum oratione per-  
motus Varus praesidium, quod introduxerat, ex oppido educit  
3 ac profugit. hunc ex primo ordine pauci Caesaris consecuti  
4 milites consistere coegerunt. commisso proelio deseritur a  
suis Varus; nonnulla pars militum domum discedit; reliqui 10  
ad Caesarem perueniunt, atque una cum [i]is deprensus L.  
Pupius, primi pili centurio, adducitur, qui hunc eundem or-  
5 dinem in exercitu Cn. Pompei antea duxerat. [at] Caesar  
milites Attianos conlaudat, Pupium dimittit, Auximatibus  
agit gratias seque eorum facti memorem fore pollicetur. 15

1        14. Quibus rebus Romam nuntiatis tantus repente ter-  
ror inuasit, ut cum Lentulus consul ad aperiendum aerarium  
uenisset ad pecuniamque Pompeio ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) pro-

12, 1 Egiuium *scripsi* : itiguium *D'* tiguium  $\beta$  | thermū  $\beta$  termum *D'* || 3 Eguinorum : tiguinorum || 4 arimini  $l^2$  : a(ha-*D*)ri(<sup>a</sup>ri *V*)-mino || 5 uoluntati *l* uoluntatis *DU'T'*, om *E* || 6 in itinere om *E* | in  $\beta$ , om *D* || 8 tiguū *l* tiguū *U'* tiguin *T'* igium *D'* || 10 deduci *U'* || 11 actius *T'*

13, 11 iis *DUT* his *ELFV* | deprensus *D'UT* deprensus *l* deprensus *FV* | ·L· *D'*  $\bar{s}l$   $\beta$ , tum 7 litterarum spatium *V* || 13 exercitu  $\beta$  -citū *D'* | at *del Jurin* || 14 conlaudat *DU'T* coll- *ELV* | auximatibus *D'l* -mabus *U'T'*

14, 3 pompeio *D'T'l^2* -pei  $l^1$  -peii *U'*



ferendam, protinus aperto sanctiore aerario ex urbe profugeret. Caesar enim aduentare iam iamque et adesse eius equi-  
 2 tes falso nuntiabantur. hunc Marcellus collega et plerique  
 3 magistratus consecuti sunt. Cn. Pompeius pridie eius diei  
 ex urbe profectus iter ad legiones habebat, quas a Caesare  
 4 acceptas in Apulia hibernorum causa disposuerat. dilectus  
 circa urbem intermittuntur; nihil citra Capuam tutum esse  
 [omnibus] uidetur. Capuae primum sese confirmant et colli-  
 gunt dilectumque colonorum, qui lege Iulia Capuam deducti  
 erant, habere instituunt; gladiatoresque, quos ibi Caesar in  
 ludo habebat, ad forum productos Lentulus libertatis <spe>  
 5 confirmat atque [h]is equos attribuit et se sequi iussit; quos  
 15 postea monitus ab suis, quod ea res omnium iudicio repre-  
 hendebatur, circum familiares conuentus Campaniae custodiae  
 causa distribuit.

1     **15.** Auximo Caesar progressus omnem agrum Picenum  
 percurrit. cunctae earum regionum praefecturae libentissimis  
 animis eum recipiunt exercitumque eius omnibus rebus iuuant.  
 2 etiam Cingulo, quod oppidum Labienus constituerat suaque  
 pecunia exaedificauerat, ad eum legati ueniunt, quaeque im-  
 3 perauerit, se cupidissime facturos pollicentur. milites impe-  
 rat; mittunt. interea leg(io) XII Caesarem consequitur. cum  
 his duabus Asculum Picenum proficiscitur. id oppidum Len-  
 tulus Spinther x cohortibus tenebat; qui Caesaris aduentu  
 cognito profugit ex oppido cohortesque secum abducere co-  
 4 natus magna parte militum deseritur. relictus in itinere cum  
 paucis incidit in Vibullium Rufum missum a Pompeio in  
 agrum Picenum confirmandorum hominum causa. a quo  
 factus Vibullius certior, quae res in Piceno gererentur, mili-  
 5 tes ab eo accipit, ipsum dimittit. item ex finitimis regio-  
 15 nibus, quas potest, contrahit cohortes ex dilectibus Pompeia-

6 nuntiabantur *D' l T'* n̄ciabant<sup>2</sup> *U* nunciabat<sup>2</sup> *F* nuntiabat<sup>2</sup> *V p. ras* ||  
 10 circa *Nipperdey* : contra *D' U' T V<sup>2</sup>* ∈ *V<sup>1</sup>* Intra *l* || 11 omnibus β,  
 om *D'* | sese *r* : esse (primū eē pmū *E*) || 14 libertatis *D' F T'* -tati *l U* |  
 <spe> *Herzog* || 15 atque β, om *D'* | is : his || 17 familias *Rubens*

15, 1 Auximo *D' l<sup>2</sup>* Max-β | progressus *D'* pgressu β || 3 rebus β,  
 om *D'* || 10 adducere *T'* || 11 <a> magna *r* || 12 Vibullium *Aldo* : bi-  
 bullium *D' l T'* b(ex r? *F*)ubilliū *U'* || 14 uibullius *D'* bibullius β

nis; in his Camerino fugiente<m> *Lucilium* Hirrum cum sex cohortibus, quas ibi in praesidio habuerat, excipit; quibus 6 coactis XIII efficit. cum his ad Domitium A[c]henobarbum Corfinium magnis itineribus peruenit Caesaremque adesse 20 7 cum leg(ionibus) duabus nuntiat. Domitius per se circiter XX cohortes Alba, ex Marsis et P<a>elignis, finitumis ab regionibus coegerat.

1 16. Recepto Firmo expulsoque Lentulo Caesar conquiri milites, qui ab eo discesserant, dilectumque institui iubet; ipse unum diem ibi rei frumentariae causa moratus Corfinium 2 contendit. eo cum uenisset, cohortes v praemissae a Domitio ex oppido pontem fluminis interrompebant, qui erat ab op- 5 3 pido mil(ia) pass(uum) circiter III. ibi cum antecursoribus Caesaris proelio commisso celeriter Domitiani a ponte repulsi 4 se in oppidum receperunt. Caesar legionibus traductis ad oppidum constitit iuxtaque murum castra posuit.

1 17. Re cognita Domitius ad Pompeium in Apuliam peritos regionum magno proposito praemio cum litteris mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subueniat; Caesarem duobus exercitibus et locorum angustiis facile intercludi posse 2 frumentoque prohiberi. quod nisi fecerit, se cohortesque 5 amplius XXX magnumque numerum senatorum atque equit(um) R(omanorum) in periculum esse uenturum. interim suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit certasque cuique 4 partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit; militibus in contione agros ex suis possessionibus pollicetur, quadr[ag]in[t]a in 10 singulos iugera, et pro rata parte centurionibus euocatisque.

1 18. Interim Caesari nuntiatul Sulmonenses, quod oppidum a Corfinio VII milium interuallo abest, cupere ea facere, quae uellet, sed a Q. Lucretio senatore et Attio P<a>eligno prohiberi, qui id oppidum VII cohortium praesidio tenebant.

17 fugientem *cod. Dresd. 122* : fugiente | *Lucilium Glandorp* : ulcille *m* *D'* ucillum (uallū *l*) *β* | *hirrū V* *hyrrū T* *hyrrān l* *hyrrun U'* *hirum D'* |

sex] *V Chacon* || 19 *Ahenobarbum* : *achenobarbū* (-*bartā l*) || 20 *corfiniū D'* *co|orfiniū l* *cohorthiniū U'* *cohortinium T'* || 22 *finitumis T* -*timis D'LV* || 23 *coegerat β* -*er<sup>2</sup> D* -*runt E*

16, 1 *Firmo*] a. oppido *U' marg* || 7 *praelio DF p̄- ElUT'* || 8 *traductis D'* *transd- β*

17, 10 *quadrina Buecheler* : *XL* || 11 *pro l p U' T' p D'*

18, 3 a *β* ea *D'*



2 mittit eo M. Antonium cum leg(ionis) XIII cohortibus v. 5  
 Sulmonenses simul atque signa nostra uiderunt, portas ape-  
 3 ruerunt uniuersique, et oppidani et milites, obuiam gratu-  
 tantes Antonio exierunt. Lucretius et Attius de muro se  
 deiecerunt. Attius ad Antonium deductus petit, ut ad Cae-  
 sarem mitteretur. Antonius cum cohortibus et Attio eodem 10  
 4 die, quo profectus erat, reuertitur. Caesar eas cohortes cum  
 exercitu suo coniunxit Attiumque incolumem dimisit. Caesar  
 primis diebus castra magnis operibus munire et ex finitumis  
 municipiis frumentum conportare reliquasque copias expectare  
 5 instituit. eo triduo legio VIII ad eum uenit cohortesque ex 15  
 nouis Galliae dilectibus XXII equitesque ab rege Norico cir-  
 citer CCC. quorum aduentu altera castra ad alteram oppidi  
 6 partem ponit; his castris Curionem praefecit. reliquis diebus  
 oppidum uallo castellisque circum uenire instituit. cuius  
 operis maxima parte effecta eodem fere tempore missi ad 20  
 Pompeium reuertuntur.

1 19. Litteris perlectis Domitius dissimulans in consilio  
 pronuntiat Pompeium celeriter subsidio uenturum hortatur-  
 que eos, ne animo deficient, quaeque usui ad defendendum  
 2 oppidum sint, parent. ipse arcano cum paucis familiaribus  
 3 suis conloquitur consiliumque fugae capere constituit. cum 5  
 uoltus Domitii cum oratione non consentiret atque omnia  
 trepidantius timidiusque ageret, quam superioribus diebus  
 consuesset, multumque cum suis consiliandi causa secreto  
 praeter consuetudinem conloqueretur, concilia conuentusque  
 hominum fugeret, res diutius tegi dissimularique non potuit. 10  
 4 Pompeius enim rescripserat sese rem in summum periculum  
 deducturum non esse, neque suo consilio aut uoluntate Do-  
 mitium se in oppidum Corfinium contulisse: proinde, siqua  
 5 fuisset facultas, ad se cum omnibus copiis ueniret. id ne fieri  
 posset, obsidione atque oppidi circummunitione fiebat. 15

5 legionis XIII *Vossius* : leg̃ (legione U') VIII DL' T legionib. VIII. EV ||  
 7 et milites β milites D, om E || 12 incolumen DU incolumē EL'F  
 incolom̃ (-mē V) T' || 13 primis D' lUT' a. trib; primis F, U<sup>2</sup> mg |  
 finitumis DT -timis EL'V || 14 conportare DF cōp- ELUT' || 16 di-  
 lectibus (-tis V) β del- D'

19, 6 uolt; l uolt U' uultus D' T' uolt<sup>as</sup> F

1        20. Diuulgato Domiti consilio milites, qui erant Cor-  
 fini, primo uesperis secessionem faciunt atque ita inter se per  
 tribunos militum centurionesque atque honestissimos sui ge-  
 2 neris conlocuntur: obsideri se a Caesare; opera munitiones-  
 que prope esse perfectas; ducem suum Domitium, cuius spe 5  
 atque fiducia permanserint, proiectis omnibus fugae consilium  
 3 capere; debere se suae salutis rationem habere. ab his primo  
 Marsi dissentire incipiunt eamque oppidi partem, quae mu-  
 nitissima uideretur, occupant, tantaque inter eos dissensio  
 existit, ut manum conserere atque armis dimicare conentur; 10  
 4 post paulo tamen internuntiis ultro citroque missis, quae  
 5 ignorabant, de L. Domiti fuga cognoscunt. itaque omnes uno  
 consilio Domitium productum in publicum circum sistunt et  
 custodiunt legatosque ex suo numero ad Caesarem mittunt:  
 sese paratos esse portas aperire, quaeque imperauerit, facere 15  
 et L. Domitium uiuum in eius potestatem tradere.

1        21. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar, etsi magni interesse  
 arbitratur quam primum oppido potiri cohortesque ad se  
 in castra traducere, nequa aut largitionibus aut animi confir-  
 matione aut falsis nuntiis commutatio fieret uoluntatis, quod  
 saepe in bello paruis momentis magni casus intercederent, 5  
 2 tamen ueritus, ne militum introitu et nocturni temporis li-  
 centia oppidum diriperetur, eos, qui uenerant, conlaudat at-  
 que in oppidum dimittit, portas murosque adseruari iubet.  
 3 ipse <in> [h]is operibus, quae facere instituerat, milites dis-  
 ponit, non certis spatiis intermissis, ut erat superiorum die- 10  
 rum consuetudo, sed perpetuis uigiliis stationibusque, ut  
 4 contingant inter se atque omnem munitionem expleant; tr(i-  
 bunos) mil(itum) et praefectos circum mittit atque hortatur,  
 non solum ab eruptionibus caueant, sed etiam singulorum  
 5 hominum occultos exitus adseruent. neque <u>e<r>o tam re- 15  
 misso ac languido animo quisquam omnium fuit, qui ea nocte

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20, 1 domiti *D* -tii *Eβ* || 2 primo *V* prima *D' L' T* || 3 tri(bunos)  
*Beroaldo* : tribunum || 4 conlocunt<sup>2</sup> *T* eloquent<sup>2</sup> *F* conloquuntur *D* coll-  
*ElUV* || 10 existit *D* existit *Eβ* || 12 domiti *DlU* -tii *EFT'* | Ita-  
 que *β* atq. *D'* || 16 .L. *β*, om *D'* | in eius potestatem] ei' potestati *T'*  
 21, 7 con(co<sup>n</sup>- *U* c̄- *FT*)laudat *DU'T* coll- *ElV* || 9 <in> *cod.*  
*Hauiniensis* | is : his || 12 atque *lT* aequae *DU'V* eeq; *E* || 15 adser-  
 uent *DTU*<sup>2</sup> *mg* ass- *ElV* obs- *U'* | uero *Faerno* : eo



6 conquieuerit. tanta erat summa<e> rerum expectatio, ut alius  
in aliam partem mente atque animo traheretur, quid ipsis  
Corfiniensibus, quid Domitio, quid Lentulo, quid reliquis ac-  
cideret, qui quosque euentus exciperent. 20

1 22. Quarta uigilia circiter Lentulus Spinther de muro  
cum uigiliis custodibusque nostris conloquitur: uelle, si sibi  
2 fiat potestas, Caesarem conuenire. facta potestate ex oppido  
mittitur, neque ab eo prius Domitiani milites discedunt,  
3 quam in conspectum Caesaris deducatur. cum eo de salute 5  
sua <agit>: orat atque obsecrat, ut sibi parcat, ueteremque  
amicitiam commemorat Caesarisque in se beneficia exponit,  
4 quae erant maxima: quod per eum in collegium pontificum  
uenerat, quod prouinciam Hispaniam ex praetura habuerat,  
5 quod in petitione consulatus erat subleuatus. cuius oratio- 10  
nem Caesar interpellat: se non maleficii causa ex prouincia  
egressum, sed uti se a contumeliis inimicorum defenderet,  
ut tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) in ea re ex ciuitate expulsos in suam  
dignitatem restitueret, ut se et populum R(omanum) factione  
6 paucorum oppressum in libertatem uindicaret. cuius oratione 15  
confirmatus Lentulus, ut in oppidum reuerti liceat, petit:  
quod de sua salute inpetrauerit, fore etiam reliquis ad suam  
spem solacio; adeo esse perterritos nonnullos, ut suae uitae  
durius consulere cogantur. facta potestate discedit.

1 23. Caesar, ubei luxit, omnes senatores senatorumque  
liberos, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) equitesque Romanos ad se pro-  
2 duci iubet. erant quinque <senatorii> ordinis, L. Domitius,  
P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Caecilius [Spinther] Rufus, Sext.  
Quintilius Varus quaestor, L. Rubrius; praeterea filius Do- 5  
miti aliique complures adulescentes et magnus numerus equi-

17 summae *Lips* : summa || 18 traheretur  $\beta$  quisquā traheretur *D'*

22, 2 conloquitur *DU'T* colloquit<sup>2</sup> *ELV* || 4 prius  $\beta$ , om *D'* ||  
5 conspectū *DIUV* conspctū *F* conspectu *ET* || 6 <agit> *Bentley* ||

8 colleiū *U'* || 9 prae(p̄)ltura  $\beta$  p̄ftura *D* p̄fectura *E* || 10 orationē  $\beta$   
-ne *D'* || 13 in ea (sua *l*<sup>2</sup>) re] nefarie *Kindscher* || 14 pactione(-ē *U*) *U'* ||  
17 inpetrauerit *DT* imp- *ELV* || 18 solacio *F* -tio *D'UT'* || 19 co-  
gantur] conentur *Gruter*

23, 1 ubei *scripsi* : ubi | luxit] illuxit *l* || 3 quinque senatorii or-  
dinis *Davies* : quinquaginta (.L. *U'*) ordines || 4 P. om *U'* | Spinther  
*del Hofmann* || 5 domiti *T* -tii *D'LV* || 6 com(cō-*EUT'*)plu(-plū<sup>v</sup> *T*)-  
res *D'U'T'* ep- *l* | adulescentes *DF* adol- *ELUT'*

t(um) R(omanorum) et decurionum, quos ex municipiis Do-  
 3 mitius euocauerat. hos omneis productos a contumeliis mili-  
 tum conuiciisque prohibet; pauca apud eos loquitur, quod  
 sibi a parte eorum gratia relata non sit pro suis in eos ma- 10  
 4 ximis beneficiis; dimittit omnes incolumes. HS LX, quod  
 aduexerat Domitius atque in publico deposuerat, adlatum ad  
 se ab IIII uiris Corfiniensibus Domitio reddit, ne continentior  
 in uita hominum quam in pecunia fuisse uideatur, etsi eam  
 pecuniam publicam esse constabat datamque a Pompeio in 15  
 5 stipendium. milites Domitianos sacramentum apud se dicere  
 iubet atque eo die castra mouet iustumque iter conficit VII  
 omnino dies ad Corfinium commoratus, et per fines Marrucii-  
 norum, Frentanorum, Larinatium in Apuliam peruenit.

1 24. Pompeius his rebus cognitis, quae erant ad Corfi-  
 nium gestae, Luceria proficiscitur Canusium atque inde Brun-  
 2 disium. copias undique omnes ex nouis dilectibus ad se  
 cogi iubet; seruos, pastores armat atque [i]is equos attribuit;  
 3 ex his circiter CCC equites conficit. L. Manlius praetor Alba 5  
 cum cohortibus sex profugit, Rutilius Lupus praetor Tarrac-  
 c[h]ina cum tribus; quae procul equitatum Caesaris conspi-  
 catae, cui praeerat Vibius Curius, relicto praetore signa ad  
 4 Curium transferunt atque ad eum transeunt. item reliquis  
 itineribus nonnullae cohortes in agmen Caesaris, aliae in 10  
 equites incidunt. reducitur ad eum deprensus ex itinere [C]  
 5 N. Magius Cremona, praef(ectus) fabrum Cn. Pompei. quem  
 Caesar ad eum remittit cum mandatis: quoniam ad id tem-  
 pus facultas conloquendi non fuerit atque ipse Brundisium  
 sit uenturus, interesse rei p(ublicae) et communis salutis se 15

8 omnis *DU'* om̄s *ELT'* || 10 a parte *Vasosan* : apte *Eβ* aperte *D* ||  
 11 incolomes *T'* | HS *Aldo* : h *D'* (in spatio uacuo *E*) *L'T*, om *V* ||  
 13 IIII *Mommsen* : iis (his *EV*) || 19 frentanorum *DU'* ferrentino; *E*  
 frentano; *LT'*

24, 3 dilectibus (-tis *F*) *β* del-*D'* || 4 iis *D'l* his *U'T'* || 5 his *β* iis *D'* |  
*mālius* (maniljus *l*) *β* mallius *D, E* in ras | p̄tor *ETF<sup>2</sup>* p̄(prae- *D*)ter  
*DLV* | alba *D', F* post ras albā *β* || 6 sex *D'lFT* VI. *UV* | rutilius  
*EUV* rutilius *DLFT* | Tarracina : ta(tē- *E*)rrachina || 7 Quē *l* quae  
*U<sup>2</sup>mg* coortib; *q* *F* inter u., om *D'U'T'* || 8 Vibius : biuius || 9 atq; *β*  
 & *D'* || 10 aliae *D'l<sup>2</sup>* aliā *U'T'* alias *l<sup>1</sup>* ali *U<sup>2</sup>* alii *F* post ras ||  
 12 Numerius *Voorbroek* : .cn. | fabrū *β* frabrum *D'* || 13 ad id *β* aditi  
*D'* || 14 ipse *Chacon* : ad se | brundisiū *ET* brundisidium *D* ebrūndi-  
 siū *l* ebrū desidiū *U'* brundusiū *V* || 15 & *l* ut *D'U'T'* | salutis *β* sa-



cum Pompeio conloqui; neque uero idem profici longo itineris spatio, cum per alios conditiones ferantur, ac si coram de omnibus conditionibus disceptetur.

1        25. His datis mandatis Brundisium cum leg(ionibus) VI  
peruenit, ueteranis III et reliquis, quas ex nouo dilectu con-  
fecerat atque in itinere compleuerat; Domitianas enim cohor-  
2 tes protinus a Corfinio in Siciliam miserat. repperit cons(u-  
les) Dyrrachium profectos cum magna parte exercitus, Pom- 5  
3 peium remanere Brundisi cum cohortibus XX; neque certum  
inueniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa ibi remansisset,  
quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare ex ultimis Italiae par-  
tibus regionibusque Graeciae in potestate haberet atque ex  
utraque parte bellum administrare posset, an inopia nauium 10  
4 ibi restitisset, ueritusque, ne ille Italiam dimittendam non ex-  
istimaret, exitus administrationesque Brundisini portus impedire  
5 instituit. quorum operum haec erat ratio: qua fauces erant  
angustissimae portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte  
6 litoris iaciebat, quod [i]is locis erat uadosum mare. longius 15  
progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset,  
rates duplices quoquo uersus p(edum) XXX e regione molis  
7 conlocabat. has quaternis ancoris ex IIII angulis destinabat,  
8 ne fluctibus mouerentur. his perfectis conlocatisque alias  
9 deinceps pari magnitudine rates iungebat. has terra atque 20  
aggere integebat, ne aditus atque incursus ad defendendum  
impediretur; a fronte atque ab utroque latere cratibus ac  
10 pluteis protegebat; in quarta quaque earum turres binorum  
tabulatorum excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu nauium  
incendiisque defenderet.

25

1        26. Contra haec Pompeius naueis magnas onerarias,

lutis causa  $D'$  || 17 conditiones  $D' U' T'$  ediciones  $l$  || 18 conditionibus  
 $D' U' T'$  edicionib;  $l$

25, 2 III  $\beta$  · IIII ·  $D'$  | et *cod. Petauianus* : at  $L'$  ut  $T'$  cū  $D'$  ||  
3 compleuerat  $Dl$  cōpl-  $EFT'$ ,  $U^2$  uar *mg* confecerat  $U$  || 3 Domitianas  
— 4 miserat *del Stoffel* || 5 dyrrachiū  $\beta$  dirr-  $D'$  || 6 brundisi  $Dl$  -sii  
 $EU'T$  -dusii  $V$  || 8 hadriaticū  $L'T$  adriaticum  $D'V$  | ex ultimis  $D'$   
extremis  $\beta$  || 12 impedire  $DlT$  imp-  $EU'V$  || 15 is : iis  $D'l$  his  $U'T'$  ||  
16 altiori  $V$  | contineri  $D'U'T'$  cōtinere  $l$  || 18 ancoris  $DT$  anch-  $E$   
 $L'V$  | destinabat  $El$  dist-  $DU'T'$  || 19 alias  $\beta$  aliis  $D'$  ||. 21 ne  $r$   
( $l^2$  *super* incurs;) : & re  $D'$ , om  $\beta$  | ditus  $E$

26, 1 naues  $D'UV$  nauis  $lFT$

1 quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat, adornabat. ibi tur-  
 res cum ternis tabulatis erigebat easque multis tormentis et  
 omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appellebat,  
 ut rates perrumperet atque opera disturbaret. sic cotidie 5  
 utrimque eminus fundis, sagittis reliquisque telis pugnabatur.  
 2 atque haec Caesar ita administrabat, ut conditiones pacis di-  
 mittendas non existimaret; ac tam etsi magnopere admira-  
 batur Magium, quem ad Pompeium cum mandatis miserat,  
 ad se non remitti, atque ea res saepe temptata etsi impetus 10  
 eius consiliaque tardabat, tamen omnibus rebus in eo per-  
 3 seuerandum putabat. itaque Caninium Rebilum legat(um),  
 familiarem [necessarium] Scriboni Libonis, mittit ad eum  
 conloqui causa; mandat, ut Libonem de concilianda pace  
 hortetur; in primis, ut ipse cum Pompeio conloqueretur, 15  
 4 postulat; magnopere sese confidere demonstrat, si eius rei  
 sit potestas facta, fore ut aequis conditionibus ab armis dis-  
 cedatur; cuius rei magnam partem laudis atque existimationis  
 ad Libonem peruenturam, si illo auctore atque agente ab  
 5 armis sit discessum. Libo a conloquio Canini digressus ad 20  
 Pompeium proficiscitur. paulo post renuntiat, quod consules  
 6 absint, sine illis non posse agi de compositione. ita saepius  
 rem frustra temptatam Caesar aliquando dimittendam sibi  
 iudicat et de bello agendum.

1 **27.** Prope dimidia parte operis a Caesare effecta, die-  
 busque in ea re consumptis VIII, naues a consulibus Dyrra-  
 chio remissae, quae priorem partem exercitus eo deportauerant,  
 2 Brundisium reuertuntur. Pompeius siue operibus Caesaris per-  
 motus siue etiam, quod ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, 5  
 3 aduentu nauium profectionem parare incipit, et quo facilius  
 impetum Caesaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione mili-  
 tes oppidum inrumperent, portas obstruit, uicos plateasque  
 inaedificat ac fossas transuersas uiis praeducit atque ibi sudes  
 4 stipitesque praeacutos defigit. haec leuibus cratibus terra- 10

2 deprehenderat *EU' T'* deprehenderat *l* deprehenderet *D* || 4 completas *EU' T'*  
 completas *l* completos *D* || 7 atq.  $\beta$ , om *D'* | conditiones *D' U' T'* condi-  
 tiones *l* || 9 magium  $\beta$  magnum *D'* || 13 necessarium *deleui* || 14 conloqui  
*U'* -quii *DT*, *V corr* colloquii *ElV* || 17 conditionibus *D' FT'* con-  
 dic- *lU* || 22 sine  $\beta$  nec sine *D'*

27, 9 ac] ae *D*, om *E*



que inaequat; aditus autem atque itinera duo, quae extra murum ad portum ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus atque  
 5 eis praeacutis praes<a>epit. his paratis rebus milites silentio naues conscendere iubet, expeditos autem ex euocatis, sagittariis funditoribusque raros in muro turribusque disponit. 15  
 6 hos certo signo reuocare constituit, cum omnes milites naues conscendissent, atque [h]is expedito loco actuaria nauigia relinquit.

1     **28.** Brundisini Pompeianorum militum iniuriis atque ipsius Pompei contumeliis permoti Caesaris rebus fauebant.  
 2 itaque cognita Pompei profectioe concursantibus illis atque in ea re occupatis uolgo ex tectis significabant. per quos re  
 cognita Caesar scalas parari militesque armari iubet, nequam 5  
 3 rei gerendae facultatem dimittat. Pompeius sub noctem naues soluit. qui erant in muro custodiae causa conlocati, eo  
 signo, quod conuenerat, reuocantur no[c]tisque itineribus ad  
 4 naues decurrunt. milites positis scalis muros ascendunt, sed moniti a Brundisinis, ut uallum caecum fossasque caueant, 10  
 subsistunt et longo itinere ab his circumducti ad portum perueniunt duasque naues cum militibus, quae ad moles Caesaris adhaeserant, scaphis lyntribusque reprehendunt, reprehensas excipiunt.

1     **29.** Caesar etsi ad spem conficiendi negotii maxime probabat coactis nauibus mare transire et Pompeium sequi, priusquam ille sese transmarinis auxiliis confirmaret, tamen eius rei moram temporisque longinquitatem timebat, quod omnibus coactis nauibus Pompeius praesentem facultatem in- 5  
 2 sequendi sui ademerat. relinquebatur, ut ex longinquiribus regionibus Galliae Picenique et a freto naues essent expectandae. id propter anni tempus longum atque impeditum  
 3 uidebatur. interea ueterem exercitum, duas Hispanias confirmari, quarum erat altera maxime*is* beneficiis Pompei de- 10

17 is : his

28, 4 uolgo *Dl* uulgo *EU' T'* || 5 nequã *EU' T'* ne quẽ *l* neque *D* || 6 dimittat  $\beta$  -ant *D'* || 8 conuenerat *U' T'* conue(ueñe- *D*)nerant *D' lF<sup>2</sup>* | notis *r* : noctis || 13 lyntribus *DlUT* lintrib. *EFV*

29, 2 et  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 3 ille sese *L'* illi (illi<sup>o</sup> *T*) eẽ *T'* ille *D'* | confirmaret  $\beta$  confirmaretur *D'* || 4 timebat  $\beta$  timebant *D'* || 10 erat altera *U' V* erat al[ $\bar{t}$ ] *T* erat alter *Dl* alter erat *E* | maximis  $\beta$  maximus. is *D* maxim'. his *E*

uincta, auxilia, equitatum parari, Galliam Italiamque temptari se absente nolebat.

- 1       **30.** Itaque in praesentia Pompei sequendi rationem  
omittit, in Hispaniam proficisci constituit, duumviris muni-  
cipiorum omnium imperat, ut naues conquirant Brundisium-  
2 que deducendas curent. mittit in Sardiniam cum leg(ione)  
una Valerium leg(atum), in Siciliam Curionem pro pr(aetore) 5  
cum leg(ionibus) III; eundem, cum Siciliam recepisset, pro-  
tinus in Africam transducere exercitum iubet. Sardiniam ob-  
tinebat  $\bar{M}$ . Cotta, Siciliam  $\bar{M}$ . Cato; Africam sorte Tubero  
3 obtinere debebat. Caralitani, simul ad se Valerium mitti  
audierunt, nondum profecto ex Italia sua sponte Cottam ex 10  
oppido eiciunt. ille perterritus, quod omnem prouinciam  
consentire intellegebat, ex Sardinia in Africam profugit.  
4 Cato in Sicilia naueis longas ueteres reficiebat, nouas ciuita-  
tibus imperabat. haec magno studio agebat. in Lucanis  
Brutiisque per legatos suos ciuium Romanorum dilectus ha- 15  
bebat, equitum peditumque certum numerum a ciuitatibus  
5 Siciliae exigebat. quibus rebus paene perfectis aduentu Cu-  
rionis cognito queritur in contione sese proiectum ac prodi-  
tum a Cn. Pompeio, qui omnibus rebus imparatissimis non  
necessarium bellum suscepisset et ab se reliquisque in senatu 20  
interrogatus omnia sibi esse ad bellum apta ac parata con-  
firmauisset. haec in contione questus ex prouincia fugit.

- 1       **31.** Nacti uacuas [prouincias] ab imperiis Sardiniam  
Valerius, Curio Siciliam, cum exercitibus eo perueniunt.  
2 Tubero cum in Africam uenisset, inuenit in prouincia cum  
imperio Attium Varum; qui ad Auximum, ut supra demon-  
strauimus, amissis cohortibus protinus ex fuga in Africam 5  
peruenerat atque eam sua sponte uacuum occupauerat dilectu-  
que habito duas legiones effecerat, hominum et locorum no-

---

30, 5 una  $D'IV$  un<sup>a</sup>  $T$  .I.  $U'$  || 12 intel(-li  $lF$ )gebat  $\beta$  intelle-  
git  $D$  intellet<sup>g</sup>  $E$  || 13 sicilia  $\beta$  siciliam  $D'$  | naues  $D' T'$  nauis  $L'$  ||  
15 brutiis  $D' UV$  brut<sup>9</sup>  $T$  <sup>bricijs</sup> | que  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  | dilectus  $\beta$  del-  
 $D'$  || 19 imparatissimis  $l^2$  : imperatissimis  $D\beta$  imperitissim'  $EF^2$  ||  
20 senatu  $D'lF$  se  $UT'$

31, 1 puincias  $D$  prouintias  $E$ , om  $\beta$  || 3 in (ante Afr.)  $\beta$ , om  
 $D'$  || 6 dilectu  $\beta$  del-  $D'$

titia et usu eius prouinciae nactus aditus ad ea conanda,  
quod paucis ante annis ex praetura eam prouinciam obtinuc-  
3 rat. hic uenientem Vticam nauibus Tuberonem portu atque 10  
oppido prohibet neque adfectum ualitudine filium exponere  
in terra patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.

1 32. His rebus confectis Caesar, ut relicum tempus a  
labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima municipia deducit;  
2 ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. coacto senatu iniurias inimico-  
rum commemorat. docet se nullum extraordinarium honorem  
appetisse, sed expectato legitimo tempore consulatus eo fuisse 5  
3 contentum, quod omnibus ciuibus pateret. latum ab X tri-  
b(unis) pl(ebis) contradicentibus inimicis, Catone[m] uero  
acerrime repugnante[m] et pristina consuetudine dicendi mora  
dies extrahente[m], ut sui ratio absentis haberetur, ipso con-  
sule Pompeio; qui si inprobasset, cur ferri passus esset? si 10  
4 probasset, cur se uti populi beneficio prohibuisset? patien-  
tiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro  
postulauisset, in quo iacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse  
5 facturus esset. acerbitatem inimicorum docet, qui, quod ab  
altero postularent, in se recusarent atque omnia permisceri 15  
6 mallent, quam imperium exercitusque dimittere. iniuriam in  
eripiendis legi<oni>bus pr<a>edicat, crudelitatem et insolentiam  
in circumscribendis tr(ibunis) pl(ebis); conditiones a se  
7 latas, expetita conloquia et denegata commemorat. pro qui-  
bus rebus orat ac postulat, ut rem p(ublicam) suscipiant at- 20  
que una secum amministrent. sin timore defugiant, illis se  
oneri non futurum et per se rem p(ublicam) amministraturum.

8 conanda  $\beta$  contanda  $D'$  || 9 ex *cod. Dresd.* 83 : et || 11 ualitudine  $L' V$   
-nē  $DT$  ualetudine  $E$  || 12 ancoris  $lT$  anchoris  $D' U' V$

32, 1 re(*in ras*)licū  $D$  reliquum  $E\beta$  || 7 Catone... 8 repugnante  
*Aldo* : catonē... repugnantem || 9 extrahente *Aldo* : extrahentē  $\beta$  ex-  
trahens  $D'$  | absentis  $D' L'$ ,  $T$  corr -tes  $T'$  || 10 inpbasset  $Dl$  improb-  
 $EU' T'$  || 10 cur—11 probasset *om l* || 10 eēt  $D' V$  ē &  $T$  eēt.  $\gamma U'$  ||  
11 se  $ElVF^2$  suo  $D$  su  $U' T$  /·se  $l$  (*in mg* /·fieri passus eēt) || 12 ul-  
tro  $D'$ ,  $F$  corr ultra  $\beta$  || 13 in quo  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 14 qđqđ  $F$  quid quod  
 $D\beta$  qđ (?) quod  $l$  qđqđ  $E$  qđ qđ  $V$  corr || 15 altero  $D' l^2$  altero;  $l' T'$   
altero n̄  $U'$  || 17 legionib;  $l^2$  : legibus || 18 conditiones  $D' U' T'$  con-  
dicionēs  $l$  || 20 orat  $D' l$  hortat  $U$  hortat<sup>2</sup>  $FT'$  || 21 administrent  $L' T$   
amm-  $EV$  āministrarent  $D$  | sin] sint  $T'$  | illis se  $D' U' T'$  illi se  $l$   
(illis oneri se  $V$ ) || 22 futurū  $D' U' T'$  defuturū  $l$  | amministraturū  $D' V$   
administraturum  $L' T$



8 legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere, neque  
 se reformidare, quod in senatu Pompeius paulo ante dixisset,  
 ad quos legati mitterentur, his auctoritatem attribuci timo- 25  
 9 remque eorum, qui mitterent, significarei. tenuis atque in-  
 firmi haec animi uideri. se uero, ut operibus ante ire stu-  
 duerit, sic iustitia et aequitate uelle superare.

1       **33.** Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; sed, qui  
 mitterentur, non reperiabantur, maximeque timoris causa pro  
 2 se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pompeius enim  
 discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat eodem se habiturum loco,  
 qui Romae remansissent et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent. 5  
 3 sic triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur. sub-  
 icitur etiam L. Metellus tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) ab inimicis Cae-  
 saris, qui hanc rem distrahat reliquasque res, quascumque  
 4 agere instituerit, impediatur. cuius cognito consilio Caesar  
 frustra diebus aliquot consumptis, ne reliquum tempus <di- 10  
 mittat, infectis is, quae agere destinauerat, ab urbe proficisci-  
 tur atque in ulteriorem Galliam peruenit.

1       **34.** Quo cum uenisset, cognoscit missum <in Hispa-  
 niam> a Pompeio Vibullium Rufum, quem paucis ante die-  
 2 bus Corfinio captum ipse dimiserat; profectum item Domi-  
 tium ad occupandam Massiliam nauibus actuariis septem,  
 3 quas [s]igili et in Cosano a priuatis coactas seruis, libertis, 5  
 colonis suis compleuerat; praemissos etiam legatos Massilien-  
 ses domum, nobiles adulescentes, quos ab urbe discedens  
 Pompeius erat adhortatus, ne noua Caesaris officia ueterum  
 4 suorum beneficiorum in eos memoriam expellerent. quibus  
 mandatis acceptis Massilienses portas Caesari clausurant; Al-  
 bicos, barbaros homines, qui in eorum fide antiquitus erant

25 attribui *l* attribuit *D' T'* adtribuit *U'* || 26 significari *l* -re *D' U' T'* ||  
 27 se *D' l* si *U' T'* | opib; *Va. ras l<sup>2</sup>* opibus *D' L' T*, *V corr* | ire *l<sup>2</sup>* :  
 iri *β*, om *D'*

**33**, 2 reperiabant<sup>2</sup> *D' l V* repperiebant<sup>2</sup> *U' T* || 6 -duum incipit *L*  
*f. 93<sup>r</sup>* | excus(-cuss- *L*)at(c *F*)ionibusq. *D' L'* excusati omib; q. *T* ex-  
 cusati omibus *V* || 10 dimittat *Paul* omittat *L<sup>2</sup>* : mittat || 11 is *T* iis  
*LU* his *D' V* hiis *F'*

**34**, 1 Quod *D* Quo *Eβ* | <in Hispaniam> *Aldo* || 2 Vibullium  
*Aldo* : uibellium || 3 profectum *Beroaldo* : p̄(pre- *V*)fectum || 5 Igilii  
*Chacon* : sigili *β* sigillii *D'* sicilie *L<sup>2</sup>* | Cosano *Vettori* : casono || 7 adu-  
 lescentes *D' FT* adolescentes *LUV*, *E corr* || 10 albicos *D' F* albicos  
*LUT'*

montesque supra Massiliam incolebant, ad se uocauerant;  
 5 frumentum ex finitimis regionibus atque ex omnibus castellis  
 in urbem conuexerant, armorum officinas in urbe institue-  
 rant, muros, portas, classem reficiebant. 15

1 **35.** Euocat ad se Caesar Massilia xv primos. cum his  
 agit, ne initium inferendi belli ab Massiliensibus oriatur;  
 debere eos Italiae totius auctoritatem sequi potius quam  
 2 unius hominis uoluntati obtemperare. reliqua, quae ad eorum  
 3 sanandas mentes pertinere arbitrabatur, commemorat. cuius 5  
 orationem legati domum referunt atque ex <s(enatus)> aucto-  
 ritate haec Caesari renuntiant: intellegere se diuisum esse  
 populum <Romanum> in partes duas. neque sui iudicii ne-  
 que suarum esse uirium discernere, utra pars iustiore[m] ha-  
 4 beat causam. principes uero esse earum partium Cn. Pom- 10  
 peium et C. Caesarem, patronos ciuitatis, quorum alter agros  
 Volcarum Arecomicorum et Iluorum publice is concesserit,  
 alter bello uictas Gallias attribuerit uectigaliaque auxerit.  
 5 quare paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque uoluntatem  
 tribuere debere et neutrum eorum contra alterum iuuare aut 15  
 urbe *au* portibus recipere.

1 **36.** Haec dum inter eos aguntur, Domitius nauibus  
 Massiliam peruenit atque ab [h]is receptus urbi praeficitur.  
 2 summa ei belli amministrandi permittitur: eius imperio clas-  
 sem quoquo uersus dimittunt; onerarias naues, quas ubique  
 possunt,prehendunt atque in portum deducunt, parum 5  
 clauis aut materia atque armamentis instructis ad reliquas

13 ex (*ante omn.*) *D'* in *LUT'*, *om F* || 15 portas classē *V* portas  
 clausem (-em *L*<sup>1</sup> -e *L*<sup>2</sup>) *LUT* portas cla<sup>s</sup>use: *F* portas clausim *D*  
 clausi & | portas *E*

**35,** 1 massilia *DL*, *V p. ras* massiliam *U' T'* massilię *E* | his *F*  
 iis *D' LU* is *T* quis *V* || 4 reliqua quę (que *L'*) ad eorum  $\beta$  relico  
 deorū *D* reliqua quę de eoꝛ *E* || 5 pertinere *om U'* || 6 legati domū  $\beta$   
 domū legati *D'* || 7 intellegere *D' T'* intelligere *L'* || 8 <romanum> *r* ||  
 12 Volcarum *Estienne*: uo(uu *U*)lgarum | illioꝛ *V* || 12 is *T* his *U' V*  
 iis *D' L* || 13 uictas gallias (-ię *T'*) uictos Sallyas *Glandorp* | attribue-  
 rit *D' V* adtr- *L' T* || 14 parem  $\beta$  parens *D* pares *E* || 16 *au scripsi*: aut  
*D'* an  $\beta$  ac *L*<sup>2</sup>

**36,** 2 iis *U* his *D' LFT'* || 3 ei belli am(ad *U'*)ministrandi *D' U'*  
 ei bellā administrandā <sup>i</sup> *T* belli ei āministrandi <sup>b</sup> *V* ei belli administrāda  
*L* | imperio classem *D' LF*, *T corr* classem imperio *UT'*



3 armandas reficiendasque utuntur; frumenti quod inuentum  
est, in publicum conferunt; reliquas merces commeatusque  
4 ad obsidionem urbis, si accidat, reseruant. quibus iniuriis  
permotus Caesar leg(iones) tres Massiliam adducit; turreis 10  
uineasque ad oppugnationem urbis agere, naues longas Are-  
5 late numero XII facere instituit. quibus effectis armatisque  
diebus xxx, a qua die materia caesa est, adductisque Mas-  
siliam is D. Brutum pr<a>eficit, C. Trebonium legatum ad  
oppugnationem Massiliae relinquit. 15

1 37. Dum haec parat atque amministrat, C. Fabium le-  
gatum cum legionibus III, quas Narbone circumque ea loca  
hiemandi causa disposuerat, in Hispaniam pr<a>emittit celeriter-  
que saltus Pyren<a>eos occupari iubet, qui eo tempore ab L.  
2 Afranio legato pr<a>esidiis tenebantur. reliquas legiones, 5  
3 quae longius hiemabant, subsequi iubet. Fabius, ut erat im-  
peratum, adhabita celeritate pr<a>esidium ex saltu deiecit  
magnisque itineribus ad exercitum Afrani contendit.

1 38. Aduentu L. Vibul<l>i Rufi, quem a Pompeio mis-  
sum in Hispania<m> demonstratum est, Afranius et Petreius  
et Varro, legati Pompei, quorum unus Hispaniam citeriorem  
<tribus legionibus, alter<u> alteriorem> a saltu Castulonensi ad  
Anam duabus legionibus, tertius ab Ana Vettonum agrum 5  
2 Lusitaniamque pari numero legionum optinebat, officia inter  
se partiuntur, uti Petreius ex Lusitania per Vettones cum  
omnibus copiis ad Afranium proficiscatur, Varro cum [h]is,  
quas habebat, legionibus omnem ulteriorem Hispaniam tuea-  
3 tur. his rebus constitutis equites auxiliaque toti[us] Lusitaniae 10  
a Petreio, Celtiberiae, Cantabris barbarisque omnibus, qui ad

9 si *D'*, om  $\beta$  | accidat *D'* -dant  $\beta$  || 10 tures *D' T'* -ris *L'*, *T corr* ||  
11 arelate  $\beta$  -tae *D'* || 12 armatisque diebus om *U'* || 13 a om *U'* ||  
14 is *U* his *D' L F T'* | p̄ficit *U' T'*, *L corr* p̄ficit *D' L pr* || 14 ad —  
37, 2 legatum om *V*

37, 1 amministrat *D'* adm- *L' T* || 4 saltus pyreneos  $\beta$  pyreneos  
saltus *D'* || 7 ad(ab- *E*)habita *D'* adhibita  $\beta$  || 8 exercitum afrani  
(afranii *T* affranii *V* afrani *F'*)  $\beta$  afranii exercitū *D'*

38, 1 Vibullii *Aldo* : ui(iu *UV*)buli || 2 Hispaniam *Aldo* : hispa-  
nia || 3 pompeii *L U T'* pompeii *D' F'* || 4 <tribus legionibus, alter ulte-  
riorem> *Nipperdey* || 5 Vettonum : bett(bet- *T'*)onū || 6 dusitaniāq. *U'* |  
optinebat *ELT'* obt- *DU'* || 7 uti  $\beta$  ut *D'* | ex — 8 proficiscatur om

*E* || 7 uettones *L' T* uectones *D* uectones *V* || 8 is : his || 10 toti *Vasco-*  
*san* : totius (toti' *F* tocius *UV*)

4 Oceanum pertinent, ab Afranio imperantur. quibus coactis  
celeriter Petreius per Vettones ad Afranium peruenit, consti-  
tuuntque communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam propter ipsius  
loci oportunitatem gerere. 15

1 **39.** Erant, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones Afrani  
III, Petrei duae, pr<a>eterea scutatae citerioris prouinciae et  
caetratae ulterioris Hispaniae cohortes circiter LXXX equitum-  
2 que utriusque prouinciae circiter v mil(ia). Caesar legiones  
in Hispaniam praemiserat [ad] VI [mil(ia)]; auxilia peditum 5  
x milia, equitum III mil(ia) omnibus superioribus bellis ha-  
buerat, et parem ex Gallia numerum, quam ipse pacauerat,  
nominatim ex omnibus ciuitatibus nobilissimo et fortissimo  
quoque euocato; hu[i]c optimi generis hominum ex Aquitanis  
3 montanisque, qui Galliam prouinciam attingunt, <addiderat>.\* \*\* 10  
audierat Pompeium per Mauretanium cum legionibus iter in  
Hispaniam facere confestimque esse uenturum. simul a tri-  
b(unis) militum centurionibusque mutuas pecunias sumpsit;  
4 has exercitui distribuit. quo facto duas res consecutus est,  
quod pignore animos centurionum deuinxit et largitione mili- 15  
tum uoluntates redemit.

1 **40.** Fabius finitimarum ciuitatum animos litteris nun-  
titiisque temptabat. in Sicore flumine pontes effecerat duos  
distantes inter se mil(ia) pass(um) IIII. his pontibus pabu-  
latum mittebat, quod ea, quae citra flumen fuerant, superio-  
2 ribus diebus consumpserat. hoc idem fere atque eadem de 5  
causa Pompeiani exercitus duces faciebant, crebroque inter  
3 se equestribus proeliis contendebant. huc cum cotidiana con-

13 uettones *EL'T* uetones *D* uectones *V* | afranium *EL'* ae(ē-V  
e *T*)rarium *DT'* || 14 ilerdam *EL*<sup>2</sup> iierdā *D* igerdam *L*<sup>1</sup>*T* ≡<sup>i d</sup> gertā *U*  
iertā (in *mg* † adigerta) *F* ylerdam *V*<sup>2</sup> in *ras*

**39,** 1 afrani *LUT* afranii *D'F* affranij *V* || 2 .II. *D* duę  
*Eβ* || 3 cęterate *D* ceterate *L*<sup>1</sup> ceterę *E* cetrate (-te *T*) *U' T' L*<sup>2</sup> |  
.LXXX.] XXX *Stoffel* || 4 que *β*, om *D'* || 5 ad del *Chacon* | VI *Cha-*  
*con* : sex mit *D'F* sex mit<sup>(2)</sup> *L* .VI. *U* .VI. mil. *T* .VI. milia *V* ||  
6 X milia *Stoffel* : nulla || 7 quā *DU'* quam *L*<sup>2</sup> quē *E* quamquam *L*<sup>1</sup>*T'* |  
pac(pace*F*)auerat *β* peccauerat *D* petiuerat *E* || 8 et fortissimo *D'*,  
om *β* || 9 huc *cod. Achillis Statii* : huic || 10 <addiderat> *Hoffmann* | \*\*\*  
*Buecheler* || 11 mauretaniā *DLF* mauritaniā *EUT'* || 13 q. *L'*, om *D' T'*

**40,** 1 ciuitatum *Eβ* ciuitatiū *D* || 3 his *FV* Is *T* iis *D' L* || 5 dieb.  
*D'*, *L*<sup>2</sup> *margin*, om *β*

suetudine egressae pabulatoribus pr<a>esidio propiore <ponte>  
 legiones Fabianae duae flumen transissent impedimenta<sup>que</sup> et  
 omnis equitatus sequeretur, subito *ui uentorum* et aquae 10  
 magnitudine pons est interruptus et reliqua multitudo equi-  
 4 tum interclusa. quo cognito a Petreio et Afranio ex aggere  
 atque cratibus, quae flumine ferebantur, celeriter suo ponte  
 Afranius, quem oppido castrisque coniunctum habebat, legio-  
 nes III equitatumque omnem traiecit duabusque Fabianis oc- 15  
 5 currit legionibus. cuius aduentu nuntiato L. Plancus, qui  
 legionibus pr<a>eerat, necessaria re coactus locum capit su-  
 perio<sup>rem</sup> diuersamque aciem in duas partes constituit, ne ab  
 6 equitatu circum ueniri posset. ita congressus inpari numero  
 7 magnos impetus legionum equitatusque sustinet. commisso 20  
 ab equitibus proelio signa legionum duarum procul ab utris-  
 que conspiciuntur, quas C. Fabius ulteriore ponte subsidio  
 nostris miserat suspicatus fore id, quod accidit, ut duces  
 aduersariorum occasione et beneficio Fortunae ad nostros  
 opprimendos uterentur. quarum aduentu proelium dirimitur 25  
 ac suas uterque legiones reducit in castra.

1, 41. Eo biduo Caesar cum equitibus DCCCC, quos <s>ibi  
 pr<a>esidio reliquerat, in castra peruenit. pons, qui fuerat  
 tempestate interruptus, paene erat reffectus; hunc noctu per-  
 2 fici iussit. ipse cognita locorum natura ponti castrisque  
 pr<a>esidio <s>ex cohorteis relinquit atque omnia impedi- 5  
 menta et postero die omnibus copiis triplici instructa acie  
 ad Nlerdam proficiscitur et sub castris Afrani constitit et ibi  
 paulisper sub armis moratus facit aequo loco pugnandi po-  
 testatem. potestate facta Afranius copias educit et in medio  
 3 colle sub castris constituit. Caesar ubi cognouit <per> Afra- 10  
 nium stare, quo minus proelio dimicaretur, ab infimis radicibus

8 egressae *Jurin* : congressae (-e *L*) | propiore ponte legiones *Nipper-*  
*dey* : pprio legiones *D' U' VL<sup>2</sup>*, *T corr* proprio religiones (-is *L*) *L<sup>1</sup>*  
*T pr* || 10 *ui uentorum cod. Noruicensis* : iumentorum || 13 suo *LT'* suos  
*U'*, *om D'* || 16 cuius — 17 legionibus *om D'* || 20 legionū *L' E<sup>2</sup>* -nē  
*D' T* -nēs *V*

41, 1 sibi *cod. Dresd. 122* : ibi || 2 castra *β* -ris *D'* || 5 sex cohortes  
*r* : ex (& *L*) cohortis *β* ex cohortib. *D'* cohortes *L<sup>2</sup>* | relinquit  
*D' L'* -quid *V* reliqd *T* || 7 af(aff-*V*)rani *T'* -nii *D' L'* || 8 potestatem  
*om D'* || 10 constituit *β* constitit *D'* | <per> *r*



montis intermissis circiter passibus cccc castra facere constituit  
 4 et, ne in opere faciundo milites repentino hostium incursu  
 exterrerentur atque opere prohiberentur, uallo munirei uetuit,  
 quod eminere et procul uideri necesse erat, sed a fronte 15  
 5 contra hostem ped(um) xv fossam fieri iussit. prima et se-  
 cunda acies in armis, ut ab initio constituta erat, permane-  
 bat; post hos opus in occulto a III. acie fiebat. sic omne  
 prius est perfectum opus, quam intellexeretur ab Afranio  
 6 castra muniri. sub uesperum Caesar intra hanc fossam le- 20  
 giones reducit atque ibi sub armis proxima nocte conquiescit.

1 42. Postero die omnem exercitum intra fossam continet  
 et, quod longius erat agger petendus, in pr<a>esentia simi-  
 lem rationem operis instituit singulaque latera castrorum  
 singulis attribuit legionibus munienda fossasque ad eandem  
 magnitudinem perfici iubet; reliquas legiones in armis ex- 5  
 2 peditas contra hostem constituit. Afranius Petreiusque ter-  
 rendi causa atque operis impediendi copias suas ad infimas  
 montis radices producunt et proelio lacesunt, neque idcirco  
 Caesar opus intermittit confisus pr<a>esidio legionum trium  
 3 et munitione fossae. illi non diu commorati nec longius ab 10  
 4 infimo colle progressi copias in castra reducant. tertio die  
 Caesar uallo castra communit, reliquas cohortes, quas in  
 superioribus castris reliquerat, impedimenta que ad se traduci  
 iubet.

1 43. Erat in<ter> oppidum Ilerdam et proximum colle<m>,  
 ubi castra Petreius atque Afranius habebant, planities circiter  
 passum ccc, atque in hoc fere medio spatium tumulus erat  
 2 paulo editior; quem si occupauisset Caesar et communiuisset,  
 ab oppido et ponte et commeatu omnei, quem in oppidum 5

13 et — 42, 6 constituit *om E* || 14 muniri *DL'T -re V* | uetuit *L'*  
 metuit *DT'* || 16 c̄tra *D* castra (-a *T*) contra  $\beta$  | prima  $\beta$  et prima *D* ||

18 hos *r* : hoc || 19 p̄fectū opus *D* p̄fectū *L' T* (omne opus p̄us p̄fectū *V*)

42, 2 p̄sentia *DU p̄*(pre- *L*)sentiā *LFT'* || 4 attribuit *DT'* adtr-  
*L'* || 6 terrendi *L'* terendi *D'T'* || 11 infimo *ELV, F p. ras T p. ras*  
 infirmo *DFa. ras T pr* infirmo *U* || 12 quas *om T'* || 13 ad se  $\beta$ , *om D'*

43, 1 inter oppidum Ilerdam et proximum collem *Sulpizio* : in  
 oppido (opido *L*) ilerda (-dā *Ea. ras ylerda V*) et proximo colle (-e *L*) ||  
 2 afranius *D'LF<sup>2</sup>* affrani<sup>9</sup> *V* franius *U'T* | planities *D'* planicies *VL<sup>2</sup>*  
 planitia *T -cia L'* || 3 passum *DL* passuū *E* passū *U'*, *om T'* || 5 omni  
*D'U'T'L<sup>2</sup>* omne *L<sup>1</sup>* | quē  $\beta$  quae *D'*

3 contulerant, se interclusurum aduersarios confidebat. hoc  
 sperans legiones III ex castris educit acieque in locis idoneis  
 structa unius legionis antesignanos procurrere atque eum tu-  
 4 mulum occupare iubet. qua re cognita celeriter, quae in  
 statione pro castris erant Afrani cohortes, breuiore itinere 10  
 5 ad eundem occupandum locum mittuntur. contenditur proelio  
 et, quod prius in tumultum Afraniani uenerant, nostri repel-  
 luntur atque aliis submissis subsidiis terga uertere seque ad  
 signa legionum recipere coguntur.

1 44. Genus erat pugnae militum illorum, ut magno im-  
 petu primo procurrere, audacter locum caperent, ordines  
 suos non magnopere seruarent, rari dispersique pugnarent, si  
 premerentur, pedem referre et loco excedere non turpe existi-  
 2 marent, cum Lusitanis reliquisque barbaris genere quodam 5  
 pugnae <peregrino> adsuefacti; quod fere fit, quibus quisque in  
 locis miles inueterauerit, ut multum earum regionum con-  
 3 suetudine moueatur. haec tum ratio nostros perturbauit in-  
 suetos huius generis pugnae; circum irei enim sese ab aperto  
 latere procurrentibus singulis arbitrabantur; ipsi autem suos 10  
 ordines seruare neque ab signis discedere neque sine graui  
 causa eum locum, quem ceperant, dimitti censuerant oportere.  
 4 itaque perturbatis antesignanis legio, quae in eo cornu  
 constiterat, locum non tenuit atque in proximum collem sese  
 recepit. 15

1 45. Caesar paene omni acie perterrita, quod praeter  
 opinionem consuetudinemque acciderat, cohortatus suos legio-  
 nem nonam subsidio ducit; hostem insolenter atque acriter  
 nostros insequentem subprimit rursusque terga uertere seque  
 ad oppidum Ilerdam recipere et sub muro consistere cogit. 5  
 2 sed nonae legionis milites elati studio, dum sarcire acceptum  
 detrimentum uolunt, temere insecuti longius fugienteis in

6 contulerant  $D' V^1$  -rat  $L' T V^2$  || 8 structa  $D\beta$  constr-  $E$  instr-  $Be$ -  
*roaldo* || 10 afrani  $L^1 T$  af(aff-  $V$ )ranii  $D' V L^2$  || 13 submissis (summis  
 $L T'$ ) subsidiis  $\beta$  submissis  $\bar{p}(p D)$ sidiis  $D'$

44, 2 procurrere] concurr-  $U'$  || 3 magnopere] magno ope  $U'$  ||  
 6 <peregrino> *Buecheler* | fit  $D' V$  sit  $L' T$  || 8 pturbauit  $\beta$  pturbat<sup>2</sup>  $D$   
 pturbat  $E$  || 9 pugnae  $\beta$  pugna  $D'$  | ire  $D'$  iri  $\beta$  || 11 ordine  $U'$  ||  
 12 ceperant  $L$  cep-  $ET'$  coep-  $DU'$  || 13 itaque — 15 recepit *om E* ||  
 14 non tenuit *Aldo* : continuit

45, 3 nonā (noniā  $F$ )  $L'$  nouā  $D' T'$  || 7 fugientes  $D' V L^2$  -tis  $L' T$

locum iniquum progrediuntur et sub montem, in quo erat op-  
 3 pidum positum Ilerda, succedunt. hinc se recipere cum uel-  
 4 lent, rursus illi ex loco superiore nostros premebant. prae- 10  
 ruptus locus erat, utraque ex parte directus, ac tantum in  
 latitudinem patebat, ut tres instructae cohortes eum locum  
 explerent, ut neque subsidia ab lateribus submitti neque  
 5 equites laborantibus usui esse possent. ab oppido autem  
 decliuus locus tenui fastigio uergebat in longitudinem pass(um) 15  
 6 circiter CCCC. hac nostris erat receptus, quod eo incitati  
 studio inconsultius processerant; hoc pugnabatur loco et  
 propter angustias iniquo et, quod sub ipsis radicibus montis  
 constiterant, ut nullum frustra telum in eos mitteretur. ta-  
 men uirtute et patientia nitebantur atque omnia uulnera su- 20  
 7 stinebant. augebantur illis copiae, atque ex castris cohortes  
 per oppidum crebro submittebantur, ut integri defessis suc-  
 8 cederent. hoc idem Caesar facere cogebatur, ut summissis in  
 eundem locum cohortibus defessos reciperet.

1 46. Hoc cum esset modo pugnatum continenter horis  
 quinque nostrique grauius a multitudine premerentur, con-  
 sumptis omnibus telis gladiis dstrictis impetum aduersus  
 montem in cohorteis faciunt paucisque deiectis reliquos sese  
 2 conuertere cogunt. submotis sub murum cohortibus ac non- 5  
 nulla parte propter terrorem in oppidum compulsis facilis est  
 3 nostris receptus datus. equitatus autem noster ab utroque  
 latere, etsi deiectis atque inferioribus locis constiterat, tamen  
 summa in iugum uirtute conititur atque inter duas acies per-  
 4 equitans commodiorem ac tutiorem nostris receptum dat. ita 10  
 uario certamine pugnatum est. nostri in primo congressu  
 circiter LXX ceciderunt, in his Q. Fulginius ex primo hastato  
 legionis XIII, qui propter eximiam uirtutem ex inferioribus  
 ordinibus in eum locum peruenerat; uulnerantur amplius DC.

8 iniquum  $U'$  -quū  $D'LT'$  | montē  $L$  -te  $D'U'T'$  || 9 ilerda  $L'$  iler-  
 dam  $D'T'$  ylerdā  $V$  || 10 nostros — 47, 9 superiore om  $D'$  || 15 tenui  
 leni *Hotman* | longitudinē  $LT'$  -ne  $U'$  || 21 augebantur  $L'$  -batur  $T'$  |  
 copiae  $L'$  copia  $T'$

46, 3 dstrictis  $L'$  distr-  $T'$ ,  $F$  corr || 4 cohortis  $LT'$  -tes  $V$  || 6 con-  
 pulsus  $LU$  comp-  $FT'$  || 8 deiectis  $L$  disiectis  $U$  di iectis  $F$  dilectis  $T'$  |

9 summa in *Forchhammer* : summū  $\beta$  summū  $L$  || 12 .Q.  $LT'$  que  $U'$  |  
 Fulginius : fulgimus  $\beta$  || 14 uulnerantur  $L'$  -rat<sup>2</sup>  $T'$



5 ex Afranianis interficiuntur T. Caecilius, primi pili centurio, 15  
et praeter eum centuriones IIII, milites amplius CC.

1 47. Sed haec eius diei praefertur opinio, ut se utrique  
2 superiores discessisse existimarent: Afraniani, quod cum esse  
omnium iudicio inferiores uiderentur, comminus tam diu ste-  
tissent et nostrorum impetum sustinuissent et initio locum  
tumulumque tenuissent, quae causa pugnandi fuerat, et no- 5  
3 stros primo congressu terga uertere coegissent; nostri autem,  
quod iniquo loco atque impari congressi numero quinque  
horis proelium sustinuissent, quod montem gladiis dstrictis  
ascendissent, quod ex loco superiore terga uertere aduersarios  
4 coegissent atque in oppidum compulissent. illi eum tumulum, 10  
pro quo pugnatum est, magnis operibus muniuerunt et prae-  
sidium ibi posuerunt.

1 48. Accidit etiam repentinum incommodum biduo, quo  
haec gesta sunt. tanta enim tempestas cooritur, ut numquam  
2 illis locis maioreis aquas fuisse constaret. tum autem ex  
omnibus montibus niues proluit ac summas ripas fluminis  
superauit ponteisque ambos, quos C. Fabius fecerat, uno die 5  
3 interrupit. quae res magnas difficultates exercitui Caesaris  
attulit. castra enim, ut supra demonstratum est, cum essent  
inter flumina duo, Sicorim et Cingam, spatio milium xxx,  
neutrum horum transiri poterat, necessarioque omnes his  
4 angustiis continebantur. neque ciuitates, quae ad Caesaris 10  
amicitiam accesserant, frumentum supportare neque [h]i, qui  
pabulatum longius progressi erant, interclusi fluminibus re-  
uertendi neque maximeis commeatus, qui ex Italia Galliaque ue-  
5 niebant, in castra peruenire poterant. tempus erat autem  
difficillimum, quo neque frumenta in hibernis erant neque 15

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47, 3 tandiu *U'* || 4 et initio —5 tenuissent *om U'* || 7 qnq, *T' .V V*  
quod quinq. (<sup>q</sup>*U*) *L'* || 11 muniuerunt *D' L' T' -ierūt V* | et p̄sidiū *D'*  
p̄(<sup>a</sup>*T*)sidium *LT' p̄sidiūq; U'*

48, 2 coorit<sup>2</sup> *D' LV* cohorit<sup>2</sup> *U'* quo oritur *T* || 3 maiores *D' VL<sup>2</sup>*  
*-ris L' T'* || 5 pontis *D' L' T' -tes V* | ambos *D' VF<sup>2</sup> -bo L' T'* || 8 sicorim *LT* sicorū *D'* sicoꝛ *U* sicorim *F* sycorī *V* || 11 frumentum supportare (*/.supportare /frum̄tū E*). neq. *D' L'* frum̄tū supportarent. quod *T'* | ii *U'* hi *D' LT'* || 13 max(x *in ras V*)imi *D' LUT'* maxime *F* | commeatus *Beroaldo* : comitatus || 14 erat autem *DLT'* autem erat *EU'* || 15 hiber(hyb *T*)nis] horreis *Apitz*

multum a maturitate aberant, ac ciuitates exinanitae, quod Afranius paene omne frumentum ante Caesaris aduentum Ilerdam conuexerat, reliqui siquid fuerat, Caesar superioribus 6 diebus consumpserat; pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inope re subsidium, propter bellum finitimae ciuitates longius 20 7 remouerant. qui erant pabulandi aut frumentandi causa progressi, hos leuis armaturae Lusitani peritique earum regionum caetrati citerioris Hispaniae consectabantur; quibus erat procliue tranare flumen, quod consuetudo eorum omnium est, ut sine utrisq[ue] ad exercitum non eant. 25

1 49. At exercitus Afrani omnium rerum abundabat copia. multum erat frumentum prouisum et conuectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni prouincia comportabatur; magna 2 copia pabuli suppetebat. harum omnium rerum facultates sine ullo periculo pons Ilerdae pr<a>ebat et loca trans 5 flumen integra, quo omnino Caesar adire non poterat.

1 50. Haec permanserunt aquae dies complures. conatus est Caesar reficere pontes, sed nec magnitudo fluminis permittebat neque ad ripam dispositae cohortes aduersariorum 2 perfici patiebantur; quod illis prohibere erat facile cum ipsius fluminis natura atque aquae magnitudine, tum quod ex totis 5 3 ripis in unum atque angustum locum tela iaciebantur; atque erat difficile eodem tempore rapidissimo flumine opera perficere et tela uitare.

1 51. Nuntiatum Afranio magnos commeatus, qui iter habebant ad Caesarem, ad flumen constitisse. uenerant eo sagittarii ex Rutenis, equites ex Gallia cum multis carris 2 magnisque impedimentis, ut fert Gallica consuetudo. erant pr<a>eterea cuiusque generis hominum milia circiter VI cum 5 seruis liberisque; sed nullus ordo, nullum imperium certum, cum suo quisque consilio uteretur atque omnes sine timore

16 ac ciuitates *D'* at ciuitates *L'* a ciuitate *T'* || 18 reliqui *D' LFT* reliquis *U* reliquū *V* || 20 inope re *Buecheler* : inopere || 23 cetrati *LT'* caturati *D'* ceutrati *U'*, *del Paul* || 25 utrius *Buecheler cl. CGLL* II p. 247, 55 : utrisq. | non eant  $\beta$  moneant *D* moueant *E*

49, 1 afrani *L'* af(aff- *V*)ranii *D' T' L'*<sup>2</sup> || 5 periculo *om D'* (6 litt. spatium in *E*)

50, 1 haec *T a. ras* hae *D' L' V*, *T p. ras* || 5 tum *L'*, *om D' T'*

51, 1 commeatus *Nipperdey* : comitatus | habebant *D' T'* habeant *L'*

iter facerent usei superiorum temporum atque itinerum li-  
 3 centia. erant complures honesti adulescentes, senatorum filii  
 et ordinis equestris; erant legationes ciuitatum; erant legati 10  
 4 Caesaris. hos omneis flumina continebant. ad hos oppri-  
 mendos cum omni equitatu tribusque legionibus Afranius de  
 nocte proficiscitur inprudenteisque ante missis equitibus ag-  
 greditur. celeriter sese tamen Galli equites expediunt proe-  
 5 liumque committunt. i, dum pari certamine res geri potuit, 15  
 magnum hostium numerum pauci sustinuerunt; sed ubi signa  
 legionum appropinquare coeperunt, paucis amissis sese in  
 6 proximos montes conferunt. hoc pugnae tempus magnum  
 attulit nostris ad salutem momentum; nacti enim spatium se  
 in loca superiora receperunt. desiderati sunt eo die sagittarii 20  
 circiter CC, equites pauci, calonum atque impedimentorum  
 non magnus numerus.

1 52. His tamen omnibus annona creuit; quae fere res  
 non solum inopia pr<a>esenti[s], sed etiam futuri temporis  
 2 timore ingrauescere consuevit. iamque ad ✕ L in singulos  
 modios annona peruenerat, et militum uires inopia frumenti  
 3 deminuerat, atque incommoda in dies augebantur; et tam 5  
 paucis diebus magna erat rerum facta commutatio ac se  
 Fortuna inclinauerat, ut nostri magna inopia necessariorum  
 rerum conflictarentur, illi omnibus abundarent rebus superio-  
 4 resque haberentur. Caesar is ciuitatibus, quae ad eius ami-  
 citiam accesserant, quo<m> minor erat frumenti copia, pecus 10  
 imperabat; calones ad longinquioreis ciuitates dimittebat;  
 ipse pr<a>esentem inopiam, quibus poterat subsidiis, tuta-  
 batur.

1 53. Haec Afranius Petreiusque et eorum amici pleniora  
 etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. multa

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8 usi *D'* usu  $\beta$  || 9 adulescentes *DFT* ado- *ELUV* || 11 om̄s *D'*  
 omnis  $\beta$  || 13 inprudentes (-te<sup>s</sup> *L*) *DL* imprudentes *E* in( $\bar{i}$  *V*)prudentis  
*U' T'* | aggreditur *D' V* adgr- *L' T* || 15 li *L* id *D' U' T'* || 17 approp-  
 inquare *D' T* adpr- *L' V* | coeperunt *DL* cep- *ET'* cep- *U'*

52, 1 tamen] tum *Nicaise* || 2 praesenti *Davies* : presentis || 3 de-  
 narios *Aldo* : X || 5 deminuerat  $\beta$  dimin- *D'* || 6 ac] hac *T'* || 8 abun-  
 darent *D' L V* hab- *U' T'* || 9 is *T'* iis *L'*, om *D'* || 10 quom *Buecheler* :  
 quo || 11 longinquioreis (-ones *D*) *D' UV* -oris *LFT*

53, 2 multa rumor adfingebat *Estienne* : multorū ora fingebant *D'*  
 Multarum fingebant *L*<sup>1</sup> multa rumor fingebat *U' L*<sup>2</sup> multarū rumore



rumor a<d>fingebat, ut paene bellum confectum uideretur.  
 2 quibus litteris nuntiisque Romam perlatis magni domum con-  
 cursus ad Afranium magnaue gratulationes fiebant; multi 5  
 ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur, alii, ut principes  
 talem nuntium attulisse, alii, ne euentum belli expectasse  
 aut ex omnibus nouissimi uenisse uiderentur.

1 54. Cum in his angustiis res esset atque omnes uiae  
 ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque obsiderentur nec pontes  
 perfici possent, imperat militibus Caesar, ut naues faciant,  
 cuius generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniae docue-  
 2 rat. carinae ac primum statumina ex leui materia fiebant; 5  
 reliquum corpus nauium uiminibus contextum coriis intege-  
 3 batur. has perfectas carris iunctis deuehit noctu mil(ia) pas-  
 s(um) a castris XXII militesque his nauibus flumen trans-  
 4 portat continentemque ripae collem in prouiso occupat. hunc  
 celeriter, priusquam ab aduersariis sentiatur, communit. huc 10  
 legionem postea transi[e]cit atque ex utraque parte pontem  
 5 institutum biduo perficit. ita commeatus et, qui frumenti  
 causa processerant, tuto ad se recipit et rem frumentariam  
 expedire incipit.

1 55. Eodem die equitum magnam partem flumen traiecit.  
 qui inopinanteis pabulatoreis et sine ullo dissipatos timore  
 aggressi [iam] magnum numerum iumentorum atque hominum  
 intercipiunt cohortibusque c<a>e[n]t[u]r[i]atis subsidio missis  
 scienter in duas partes sese distribuunt, alii ut pr<a>edae 5  
 pr<a>esidio sint, alii ut uenientibus resistent atque eos pro-

orat. fingebant *T* multa rumore fingebant *V* || 5 que om *D'* || 7 alii  $\beta$   
 aliud *D'* || 8 aut *L* ante ras *T* ut *D' U' V*, *L p. ras*

54, 4 brittanię *D* britanniae *EU'* britanniae *L<sup>1</sup>T'* britannie *L<sup>2</sup>* |  
 docuerat *D' T'* -rant *L'* || 5 prima *Nipperdey* | statumen *Hoffmann* | ex  
 leui *T'* et leuia (leu<sup>i</sup>a *U* leuia *F*) *D' L'* & leui *L<sup>2</sup>* aluei *Ramorino* ||  
 6 contextum  $\beta$  conte<sup>x</sup> (-xit *E*) *D'* | integebatur  $\beta$  -bant<sup>2</sup> *D'* || 8 his  
*D' T'* iis *L'* || 10 huc  $\beta$  hunc *D'* || 11 legionē  $\beta$ , om *D'* | transiecit  
 (*praes.*)] traiecit *Vascosan* || 12 pficit  $\beta$  pfecit *D'* || 13 recipit *U' T'* re-  
 cepit *D' L*

55, 1 traiecit *D' U' T* transiecit *LV* || 2 inopinantes pabulatores

*D' V* -nan(-na,<sup>n</sup> *T*)tis pab(pap- *F pr*)ulitoris (-is *L*) *L' T* || 3 aggressi *D' V*  
 adgr- *L' T* | iam *D' T'* quam *L'*, del *Nipperdey* || 4 cetratis *Manuzio* :  
 centuriatis *D' U' T'*, *L corr* centuatis *L pr* || 5 p̄dę (-e *LUT*) p̄sidio  
 sint  $\beta$  p̄sidio sint p̄dae *D'*

2 pellant, unamque cohortem, quae temere ante ceteras extra  
 aciem procurrerat, seclusam ab reliquis circum ueniunt atque  
 interficiunt incolumesque cum magna pr<a>eda eodem ponte  
 in castra reuertuntur. 10

1 56. Dum haec ad Ilerdam geruntur, Massilienses usi  
 L. Domiti consilio nauis longas expediunt numero xvii,  
 2 quarum erant xi tectae. multa huc minora nauigia addunt,  
 ut ipsa multitudine nostra classis terreatur. magnum nume-  
 rum sagittariorum, magnum Albicorum, de quibus supra de- 5  
 monstratum est, imponunt atque hos pr<a>emiis pollicitatio-  
 3 nibusque incitant. certas sibi deposcit nauis Domitius atque  
 has colonis pastoribusque, quos secum adduxerat, complet.  
 4 sic omnibus rebus instructa classe magna fiducia ad nostras  
 nauis procedunt, quibus pr<a>erat D. Brutus. haec ad in- 10  
 sulam, quae est contra Massiliam, stationes obtinebant.

1 57. Erat multo inferior numero nauium Brutus; sed  
 electos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos uiros, antesignanos,  
 centuriones, Caesar ei classi attribuerat, qui sibi id muneris  
 2 depoposcerant. hi manus ferreas atque harpagones parauerant  
 magnoque numero pilorum, tragularum reliquorumque telo- 5  
 rum se instruxerant. ita cognito hostium aduentu suas naues  
 3 ex portu educunt, cum Massiliensibus configunt. pugnatum  
 est utrimque fortissime atque acerrime; neque multum Albici  
 nostris uirtute cedebant, homines asperi et montani et exer-  
 4 citati in armis; atque hi modo digressi <a> Massiliensibus 10  
 recentem eorum pollicitationem animis continebant, pastores-  
 que illi Domiti spe libertatis excitati sub oculis domini  
 suam probare operam studebant.

1 58. Ipsi Massilienses et celeritate nauium et scientia  
 gubernatorum confisi nostros eludebant impetusque eorum  
 excipiebant et, quoad licebat, latiore ut spatio producta lon-

56, 2 domiti *DU'* -tii *ELT'* | nauis *D'LFT'* -ues *UV* || 6 im-  
 ponunt *D'V* in- *L'T* || 7 naues *D'V<sup>2</sup>* -uis  $\beta$  || 10 naues *D'V* -uis  
*L'T* | haec *D'LF* Hec *U* h $\epsilon$  *T'*

57, 4 depoposcerant *L', T* corr -rat *D'T'* || 8 ē (*T*) utrimq. (-īq. *T'*  
 utrinq; ē *E*) *D'T'* est. utrimq; (-īq; *U'*) *L'* | albici *ELV* albici *DT* ||  
 10 digressi *L<sup>2</sup>* : degressi | <a> *r* || 11 eorum *U'uar* eorum .ϕodem *L* eo-

dem *D'U'T'* || 12 illi *Buecheler* : in | domini *D'T'* -nis *L'* domitij *L<sup>2</sup>*

58, 3 decipiebant *Nipperdey* | ut *U'T'* aut *L*, om *D'* uti *Vossius*



gius acie circum uenire nostros aut pluribus nauibus adoriri  
 5 singulas aut remos transcurrentes detergere, si possent, con-  
 2 tendebant; cum propius erat necessario uentum, ab scientia  
 gubernatorum atque artificis ad uirtutem montanorum con-  
 3 fugiebant. <nostri> quo<m> minus exercitatis remigibus mi-  
 nusque peritis gubernatoribus utebantur, qui repente ex one-  
 rariis nauibus erant producti neque dum etiam uocabulis ar- 10  
 mamentorum cognitis, tum etiam tarditate et grauitate na-  
 uium impediabantur; factae enim subito ex umida materia  
 4 non eundem usum celeritatis habuerant. itaque dum locus  
 comminus pugnandi daretur, aequo animo singulas binis na-  
 uibus obiciebant atque iniecta manu ferrea et retenta utra- 15  
 que naue diuersi pugnabant atque in hostium naues transcen-  
 debant \*\* et magno numero Albicorum et pastorum interfecto  
 partim nauium deprimunt, nonnullas cum hominibus capiunt,  
 5 reliquas in portum compellunt. eo die naues Massiliensium  
 cum is, quae sunt captae, intereunt VIII. 20

1 **59.** Hoc primum Caesari ad Ilerdam nuntiatur; simul  
 2 perfecto ponte celeriter Fortuna mutatur. illi perterriti uir-  
 tute equitum minus libere, minus audacter uagabantur; alias  
 non longe a castris progressi spatio, ut celerem receptum  
 haberent, angustius pabula<ba>ntur, alias longiore circuitu 5  
 custodias stationesque equitum uitabant, aut aliquo accepto  
 detrimento aut procul equitatu uiso ex medio itinere proiectis  
 3 sarcinis fugiebant. postremo et plures intermittere dies et  
 pr<a>eter consuetudinem omnium noctu constituerant pa-  
 bulari. 10

1 **60.** Interim Oscenses et Calagurritani, qui erant [cum]  
 Oscensibus contributi, mittunt ad eum legatos seseque impe-  
 2 rata facturos pollicentur. hos Tarraconenses et Iacetani et

5 detergere *L corr U' uar* : deterrere || 7 artif(f ex t? *L*)icis *D' L' T pr*  
 -ficiis *T corr -ficū V* || 8 <nostri> *Aldo* | quom *Elberling* : quo *D' T'*  
 qui *L'* || 10 arma<sup>m</sup>toꝝ *ET'* ar<sup>m</sup>torum *DL'* || 12 umida *DL' T hu-*  
*EV F<sup>2</sup>* || 13 habuerant] habebant *Aldo* || 14 cōmin' *E* communis *Dβ* ||  
 17 \*\* *Chacon* | albicorum *Eβ* albicorū *D* || 18 partim *D' L' -tē T'*,  
*E corr L<sup>2</sup>* || 20 cum (cū|cū *E*) his (is *L*) quae] Domitiique *Paul*

**59**, 1 primū *β* primū cū *D'* proelium *Chacon* || 3 alias *β* alii *D'* ||  
 4 longe *β* longo *D'* || 5 pabulabantur *cod. Dresd. 122* : pabulantur |  
 alias *β* alii *D'* || 6 aut *β* ut *D'* at *Paul* || 8 fugiebant *β* refugiebant *D'*

**60**, 1 cum *del Chacon* || 3 tarraconen(-e<sup>n</sup>*T*)ses *D' LT'* traconen-



Ausetani et paucis post diebus Illurgauonenses, qui flumen  
 3 Hiberum attingunt, insecuntur. petit ab his omnibus, ut se 5  
 frumento iuuent. pollicentur atque omnibus undique conqui-  
 4 sitis iumentis in castra deportant. transit etiam cohors <II>-  
 lurgauonensis ad eum cognito ciuitatis consilio et signa ex  
 5 statione transfert. <fit> magna celeriter commutatio rerum: per-  
 fecto ponte, magnis quinque ciuitatibus ad amicitiam ad- 10  
 iunctis, expedita re frumentaria, extinctis rumoribus de auxi-  
 liis legionum, quae cum Pompeio per Mauretanium uenire  
 dicebantur, multae longinquoiores ciuitates ab Afranio desciscunt et Caesaris amicitiam secuntur.

1 **61.** Quibus rebus perterritis animis aduersariorum Caes-  
 ar, ne semper magno circuitu per pontem equitatus esset  
 mittendus, nactus idoneum locum, fossas pedum xxx in la-  
 titudinem complures facere instituit, quibus partem aliquam  
 2 Sicoris auerteret uadumque in eo flumine efficeret. his paene 5  
 effectis magnum in timorem Afranius Petreiusque perueniunt,  
 ne omnino frumento pabuloque intercluderentur, quod mul-  
 tum Caesar equitatu ualebat. itaque constituunt ipsi locis  
 3 excedere et in Celtiberiam bellum transferre. huic consilio  
 suffragabatur etiam illa res, quod ex duobus contrariis ge- 10  
 neribus quae superiore bello cum L. Sertorio steterant ciui-  
 tates, uictae nomen atque imperium absentis <Pompei> time-  
 bant, quae in amicitia manserant [Pompei], magnis adfectae  
 beneficiis eum diligebant, Caesaris autem erat in barbaris  
 4 nomen obscurius. hic magnos equitatus magnaue auxilia 15  
 expectabant et suis locis bellum in hiemem ducere cogitabant.  
 5 hoc inito consilio toto flumine Hiberno nauis conquirei et

ses  $U'$  || 4 illurgauonenses  $D' L U T'$  illurgauonenses  $F$  lurgauonenses  
 $L^2$  || 5 insecuntur<sup>2</sup>  $T$  insequuntur  $D' L' V$  sequuntur  $U^2$  || 7 cohors lurgauonenses  
 $L^1$  cohors l(ill- $V$ )urgauonensis  $U' T' L^2$  cohortilurgauonensis  
 $D'$  || 9 <fit> *Buecheler* | ce(cae-  $L$ )lerit̄  $\beta$  celeritate  $D'$  | commutatio  
 rerum  $\beta$  cōmutationē  $D$  & cōmutatione  $E$  || 12 mauretaniā  $D L'$   
 mauritaniam  $E T'$  || 14 secuntur  $D U$  sequuntur  $E L F T'$

**61,** 5 sicoris  $L'$  sicores  $D' T$  sycoris  $V$  | uadum  $\beta$  -dū  $D'$  ||  
 8 ipsis  $E$  || 10 suffragabat<sup>2</sup>  $D' T'$  subfragabatur  $L'$  || 12 <Pompei>  
*Davies* || 13 manserant  $D' U T'$  -señ  $L F'$  | pompeii  $D \beta$  pōpeii  $E$ ,  
 del *Davies* | adfectae  $L' T$  a(e-  $E$ )ffectae  $D' V L^2$  || 17 nauis  $D' L' T$   
 naues  $V$  | conquirei et Octogesam *Hotman* conquirere. et octogesma  $L^2$ ;  
 conquirere. toto gesma

O(c)togesam adduci iubent. id erat oppidum positum ad Hibe-  
 6 rum mil(ia)que pas(suum) a castris aberat xx(x). ad eum  
 locum fluminis nauibus iunctis pontem imperant fieri legio- 20  
 nesque duas flumen Sicorim transducunt castraque muniunt  
 uallo pedum XII.

1 62. Qua re per exploratores cognita summo labore mi-  
 litum Caesar continuato diem noctemque opere in flumine  
 auertendo huc iam deduxerat rem, ut equites, etsi difficulter  
 atque aegre fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen  
 2 transire, pedites uero tantummodo umeris ac summo pectore 5  
 extare<nt> et cum altitudine aquae tum etiam rapiditate flu-  
 3 minis ad transeundum [non] impedirentur. sed tamen eodem  
 fere tempore pons in Hiberno prope effectus nuntiabatur et  
 in Sicori uadum reperiabatur.

1 63. Iam uero eo magis illi maturandum iter existima-  
 bant. itaque duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus Ilerdae pr(a)e-  
 sidio relictis omnibus copiis Sicorim transeunt et cum dua-  
 bus legionibus, quas superioribus diebus traduxerant, castra  
 2 coniungunt. relinquebatur Caesari nihil, nisi uti equitatu 5  
 agmen aduersariorum male haberet et carperet. pons enim  
 ipsius magnum circuitum habebat, ut multo breuiore itinere  
 3 illi ad Hiberum peruenire possent. equites ab eo missi flu-  
 men transeunt et, cum de tertia uigilia Petreius atque Afra-  
 nius castra mouissent, repente sese ad nouissimum agmen 10  
 ostendunt et magna multitudine circumfusa morari atque iter  
 impedire incipiunt.

1 64. Prima luce ex superioribus locis, quae Caesaris

19 que Aldo : .U. (V. E .V. L' V) | XXX von Goeler : .XX. || 21 sico-  
 rim LT sicorĩ F sicoꝛ U<sup>in(1)</sup> sicorũ E siccorũ D sycorĩ V | que om T |  
 muniunt D' muniunt<sup>2</sup> β

62, 3 deduxerat *Estaco* : reduxerat || 4 fiebat β E<sup>3</sup> -ant D' || 5 ume-  
 ris DL<sup>1</sup> hu- EU' T' L<sup>2</sup> || 6 exstarent *Davies* : extare | rapi(tar-V) di-  
 tate β repuditate D repudicate E || 7 impedirentur L non im(in-T)pe-  
 dirent<sup>2</sup> U' T' non impedirent<sup>2</sup> nuntiabat<sup>2</sup> D' || 9 sicori D' LUT sycori  
 V sicori F | reperiabatur EV repp- DL' T

63, 2 i(y-V)lerdae (-de L) β ilerdā D' || 3 sicorĩ U' sicorim L<sup>2</sup>  
 sicorum L<sup>1</sup> sycorĩ iam V siccoriā D sicoriā ET || 3 et — 5 coniungunt  
 om E || 4 traduxerant D -runt β || 6 Pons L post D' U' T' || 9 atq; β  
 et D'

64, 1 quae L', om D' T'



castris erant coniuncta, cernebatur equitatus nostri proelio  
nouissimos illorum premi uehementer ac non numquam susti-  
neret extremum agmen atque interrumpi, alias ferri signa et  
uniuersarum cohortium impetu[m] nostros propelli, dein rur- 5  
sus conuerso<s> insequi. totis uero castris milites circulari  
et dolere hostem ex manibus dimitti, bellum non necessario  
longius duci, centurionesque tribunosque militum adire atque  
obsecrare, ut per eos Caesar certior fieret, ne labori suo neu  
periculo parceret; paratos esse sese, posse et audere ea trans- 10  
ire flumen, qua traductus esset equitatus. quorum studio et  
uocibus excitatus Caesar, etsi timebat tantae magnitudini  
fluminis exercitum obicere, conandum tamen atque experien-  
dum iudicat. itaque infirmioris milites ex omnibus centu-  
riis deligi iubet, quorum aut animus aut uires uidebantur 15  
sustinere non posse. hos cum legione una praesidio ca-  
stris relinquit; reliquas legiones expeditas educit magnoque  
numero iumentorum in flumine supra atque infra constituto  
traducit exercitum. pauci ex his militibus ablati in flu-  
mine ab equitatu excipiuntur ac subleuantur; interit tamen 20  
nemo. traducto incolumi exercitu copias instruit triplicem-  
que aciem ducere incipit. ac tantum fuit in militibus stu-  
di[i], ut mil(ium) sex ad iter addito [ad uadum] circuitu  
magnaue fluminis mora interposita eos, qui de tertia uigilia  
exissent, ante horam diei VIII consequerentur. 25

1 **65.** Quos ubi Afranius procul uisos cum Petreio con-  
spexit, noua re perterritus locis superioribus constitit aciem-  
2 que instruit. Caesar in campis exercitum reficit, ne defes-  
sum proelio obiciat; rursus conanteis progredi insequitur et

2 coniuncta  $\beta$  -cti  $D'$  | cernebatur  $LT'$  -bant<sup>2</sup>  $D'U'$  || 3 non nūquā  $D$   
nūquam  $T'$  nonnunquā  $E$  nunc quam  $L'$  | sustineri *Giesing* : susti-  
nere || 5 impetu  $L^2$  : impetum || 6 conuersos  $L^2$  : conuerso || 7 dolere  
 $EU'T'L^2$  dolore  $DL^1$  | non  $D'$ , om  $\beta$  || 10 ea  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 11 qua  $\beta$   
quo  $D'$  || 12 magnitudini  $T'$  -dinis  $D'L'$  || 13 fluminis  $D\beta$  -ni  $EL^2$  ||  
14 infirmiores  $D'LUV$  -ris  $FT$ ,  $L$  corr || 16 praesidio  $\beta$  p  $D'$  || 17 relin-  
quit (-d  $V$ )  $\beta$  -liquit  $D'$  || 19 pauci *codd. recentes* : paucis  $D\beta$  Pau-  
cos  $E$  | ablati *Dübner* : arma in  $D\beta$  in  $E$  | flumine  $\beta$  flumine arrepta  
 $D$  flumine arreptos  $E$  || 20 excipiuntur  $\beta$  -pit  $D'$  || 22 studii  $\beta$  studiū  
 $D'$  || 23 ad uadum *del Apitz*

**65**, 2 consistit *Chacon* || 3 refic̄  $T$  refecit  $D'L'V$  || 4 conantes  $D'$   
-tis  $\beta$



3 moratur. illi necessario maturius, quam constituerant, castra 5  
 ponunt. suberant enim montes atque a milibus passum v  
 4 itinera difficilia atque angusta excipiebant. hos montes in-  
 trare [re]cupiebant, ut equitatum effugerent Caesaris pr<a>e-  
 sidiisque in angustiis collocatis exercitum itinere prohibe-  
 rent, ipsi sine periculo ac timore Hiberum copias traduce- 10  
 5 rent. quod fuit illis conandum atque omni ratione efficien-  
 dum; et totius diei pugna atque itineris labore defessi rem  
 in posterum diem distulerunt. Caesar quoque in proximo  
 colle castra ponit.

1 66. Media circiter nocte [i]is, qui [ad]aquandi causa  
 longius a castris processerant, ab equitibus correptis fit ab  
 his certior Caesar duces aduersariorum silentio copias castris  
 educere. quo cognito signum dari iubet et uasa militari[a]  
 2 more conclamari. illi exaudito clamore ueriti ne noctu im- 5  
 pediti sub onere configere cogerentur aut ne ab equitatu  
 Caesaris in angustiis tenerentur, iter subprimunt copiasque  
 3 in castris continent. postero die Petreius cum paucis equi-  
 tibus occulte ad exploranda loca proficiscitur. hoc idem fit  
 ex castris Caesaris. mittitur L. Decidius Saxa cum paucis, 10  
 4 qui loci naturam perspiciat. uterque idem suis renuntiat:  
 v mil(ia) pas(suum) proxima intercedere itineris campestris,  
 inde excipere loca aspera et montuosa; qui prior has angu-  
 stias occupauerit, ab hoc hostem prohibere<sup>i</sup> nihil esse negotii.

1 67. Disputatur in consilio a Petreio atque Afranio et  
 tempus profectionis quaeritur. plerique censebant, ut noctu  
 iter facerent; posse prius ad angustias ueniri, quam sentire-  
 2 tur. ali, quod pridie noctu conclamatum esset <in> Caesaris

5 maturius quam constituerant  $\beta$  quā constituerant maturius  $D'$  || 6 mi-  
 lib; (mille  $V$ )  $\beta$  rū alib:  $D$  ruālibus  $E$  | passū  $D$  passuum  $ELT$   
 passib;  $V$  || 7 intrare cupiebant *Nipperdey* : intra se recipiebant || 9 con-  
 locatis  $U'T$  collocatis  $D'LV$  || 12 et] sed *Estienne* | pugna  $EL$ ,  $T'$   
*corr* pugnā  $DUT'$  -nam  $F$

66, 1 is : iis  $L'$  his  $T$  hi  $D'V$  | aquandi *Kindscher* : ada(ad-  $T$ )-  
 quandi || 2 correptis  $L'$  correpti  $st$   $E$  correpti  $DT'$  || 4 militari  $r$  : mi-  
 litaria || 5 conclamari  $\beta$  conclamandi  $pferre$   $D'$  || 6 ne  $\beta$ , *om*  $D'$  ||  
 10 saxa  $\beta$  saxo  $D'$  || 12 intercedere  $r$  : intercidere || 14 prohibē<sup>i</sup>  $L$  :  
 prohibere | esse] sese  $D$ ,  $E^2$  *uar*

67, 1 a  $D'LV$  ab  $U'T$  | atq.  $\beta$  et ab  $D'$  || 3 sentiret<sup>2</sup>  $E$  senti-  
 rentur  $D\beta$  || 4 ali  $DLV$  alii  $EU'T$  | in *Nipperdey* : a  $D'$ , *om*  $\beta$

3 castris, argumenti sumebant loco non posse clam exirei. cir- 5  
 cum fundi noctu equitatum Caesaris atque omnia loca atque  
 itinera obsidere; nocturnaue pr(o)elia esse uitanda, quod  
 perterritus miles in ciuili dissensione timorei magis quam  
 4 religioni consulere consuerit. ad lucem multum per se pu-  
 dorem omnium oculis, multum etiam tribunorum militum et 10  
 centurionum pr(a)esentium afferre; quibus rebus coerceri mi-  
 5 lites et in officio contineri soleant. quare omni ratione esse  
 interdiu perrumpendum; etsi aliquo accepto detrimento, tamen  
 6 summa exercitus salua locum, quem petant, capi posse. haec  
 uincit in consilio sententia, et prima luce postridie consti- 15  
 tuunt proficisci.

1 68. Caesar exploratis regionibus albente caelo omneis  
 copias castris educit magnoque circuitu nullo certo itinere  
 exercitum [e]ducit. nam qu(a)e itinera ad Hiberum atque  
 Octogesam pertinebant, castris hostium oppositis tenebantur.  
 2 ipsi erant transcendendae ualles maximae ac difficillimae, 5  
 saxa multis locis pr(a)erupta iter impediabant, ut arma per  
 manus necessario traderentur militesque inermes[s] subleuati-  
 3 que alii ab aliis magnam partem itineris conficerent. sed  
 hunc laborem recusabat nemo, quod eum omnium laborum  
 finem fore existimabant, si hostem Hiberno intercludere et 10  
 frumento prohibere potuissent.

1 69. Ac primo Afraniani milites uisendi causa laeti ex  
 castris procurrebant contumeliosisque uocibus prosequabantur  
 n(ostr)os: necessarii uictus inopia coactos fugere atque ad  
 Ilerdam reuerti. erat enim iter a proposito diuersum, contra-

5 argum̄ti β -tis D' | exiri D' LUT' -rē F || 7 obsidere U' T' -deri L  
 -diis D' | nocturna β -nē D' || 8 timore D' -ri U' VL<sup>2</sup>, T corr -ris L<sup>1</sup>  
 T pr || 9 consuerit (-euerit T) β censuerit D' | At r || 11 afferre D'  
 LV adf- U' T | coerceri D' L coherceri U' T' || 15 uincit D' euincit β |  
 postridie L' V post tridie D' T

68, 1 om̄s D' U' T' omnis L || 3 ducit Beroaldo : educit | qv̄ L<sup>2</sup>:  
 q. | ad β q̄ (quē E) ad D' || 4 octogesam LV octogesmā E otogesam  
 DU' T || 5 ipsi β ipsa D' | transcen(-sen- L)dendae (-de F) ualles  
 maxime (-me L) β transcendenda uallis maxima D' | ac β et D' |  
 diff(dif- L)icillimae (-me LT) β -ma D' || 6 ut D', om β || 7 ine(inhe-  
 L<sup>1</sup>)rmi L' inermes D' V -mis T || 11 frum̄to L frum̄tū D' U' T'

69, 3 nostros Morus : Nos L nos.nec U<sup>1</sup> nec FT', om D' ||  
 4 ilerdā (-am L) D' UL -a F -ar T ylerdā V

2 riamque in partem iri uidebatur. duces uero eorum consi- 5  
 lium suom laudibus ferebant, quod se castris tenuissent; mul-  
 tumque eorum opinionem adiuuabat, quod sine iumentis im-  
 pedimentisque ad iter profectos uidebant, ut non posse in-  
 3 opiam diutius sustinere confiderent. sed ubi paulatim retor-  
 queri agmen ad dexteram conspexerunt iamque primos supe- 10  
 rare regionem castrorum animum aduerterunt, nemo erat  
 adeo tardus aut fugiens laboris, quin statim castris exeundum  
 4 atque occurrendum putaret. conclamatur ad arma, atque  
 omnes copiae paucis pr<a>esidio relictis cohortibus exeunt  
 rectoque ad Hiberum itinere contendunt. 15

1 70. Erat in celeritate omne positum certamen, utri  
 prius angustias montesque occuparent; sed exercitum Caesaris  
 uiarum difficultateis tardabant, Afrani copias equitatus Cae-  
 2 saris insequens morabatur. res tamen ab Afranianis huc  
 erat necessario deducta, ut, sei priores monteis, quos pete- 5  
 bant, attigissent, ipsi periculum uitarent, impedimenta totius  
 exercitus cohorteis in castris relictas seruare non possent;  
 quibus interclusis exercitu Caesaris auxilium ferri nulla ra-  
 3 tione poterat. confecit prior iter Caesar atque ex magnis  
 rupibus nactus planitiem in ha[n]c contra hostem aciem in- 10  
 struit. Afranius, cum ab equitatu nouissimum agmen pre-  
 meretur, ante se hostem uideret, collem quendam nactus ibi  
 4 constitit. ex eo loco III caetratorum cohorteis in montem,  
 qui erat in conspectu omnium excelsissimus, mittit. hunc  
 magno cursu concitatos iubet occupare, eo consilio, uti ipse 15  
 eodem omnibus copiis contenderet et mutato itinere iugis  
 5 Octogesam perueniret. hunc cum obliquo itinere caetrati

5 in partē iri (iri in partē U) U' in partē L partē iri T' in partē  
 muri D' | uidebatur U' T' L<sup>2</sup> -bantur D' L<sup>1</sup> | consilium suum (suū con-  
 siliū E) D' L' V, T corr cōsilio suo T pr || 6 se U', L corr, om D'  
 L pr T' || 8 ad iter] ab Ilerda Paul | posse L' possent D' T' || 10 dex-  
 teram D' L T' dextram U'

70, 1 utri β utti D uti E || 3 difficultates D' U' T', L corr -tatis  
 L pr | afrani L' -nii D' T affranii V || 4 af(aff-V)ranianis EV afranis  
 DL' T afraniis L<sup>2</sup> || 5 si priores β superiores D' | montes D' V<sup>2</sup> -tis β ||  
 7 cohortes D' L<sup>2</sup> -tis β || 8 exercitu L' T' -tui D' V || 10 planitiem D'  
 UT' -ciem FVL<sup>2</sup> -ciā L<sup>1</sup> | hac Vascosan : hanc || 12 ante β et ante D' ||  
 13 caetratorū F cetratorum DLUT' ce(e in ras a)turatorū E | cohortes  
 D', U corr V<sup>2</sup> -tis LFT' ordines U pr || 14 hunc T', E in ras huc D' L' ||  
 17 octo(oto- D)gesam D' L<sup>2</sup> octo(oto-F T')gensam β | cae(ce- LUV)-



peterent, conspicatus equitatus Caesaris in cohorteis impetum facit; nec minimam partem temporis equitum uim caetrati sustinere potuerunt omnesque ab eis circum uenti in con- 20 spectu utriusque exercitus interficiuntur.

1       **71.** Erat occasio bene gerendae rei. neque uero id Caesarem fugiebat tanto sub oculis accepto detrimento perterritum exercitum sustinere non posse, pr<a>esertim circum datum undique equitatu, cum in loco aequo atque aperto confligeretur; idque ex omnibus partibus ab eo flagitabatur. 5  
2 concurrebant legati, centuriones tribunique mil(itum): ne dubitaret proelium committere. omnium esse militum paratissimos animos. Afranianos contra multis rebus sui timoris signa mississe: quod suis non subuenissent, quod de colle non decederent, quod uix equitum incursus sustinerent con- 10 latisque in unum locum signis conferti neque ordines neque  
4 signa seruarent. quod si iniquitatem loci timeret, datum irei tamen aliquo loco pugnandi facultatem, quod certe inde decedendum esset Afranio nec sine aqua permanere posset.

1       **72.** Caesar in eam spem uenerat se sine pugna et sine uolnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re frumentaria  
2 aduersarios interclusisset. cur etiam secundo proelio aliquos ex suis <a>mitteret? cur uolnerarei pateretur optime meritos de se milites? cur denique Fortunam periclitaretur? pr<a>e- 5 sertim cum non minus esset imperatoris consilio superare  
3 quam gladio. mouebatur etiam misericordia ciuium, quos interficiendos uidebat; quibus saluis atque incolumibus rem  
4 optinere malebat. hoc consilium Caesaris plerisque non probabatur; milites uero palam inter se loquebantur, quoniam 10 talis occasio uictoriae dimitteretur, etiam cum uellet Caesar,

trati  $\beta$  cę(ce- D)turati  $D'$  || 18 cohortes  $D'$  -tis  $\beta$  || 19 facit  $L'$  fecit  $D'$ ,  
om  $T'$  | minimam] nimiā  $T'$  | cę(ce-  $L'V$ )trati  $\beta$  cę(ce-  $E$ )turati  $D'$

**71**, 1 id  $D'L^2$  idem  $\beta$  || 3 preserti  $\beta$  preserti cū  $D'$  || 4 equitatu cum  $LU$  e(ę-  $T$ )quitatū cū  $FT'$  equitatū tū  $D'$  || 5 ex  $D'T'$ , om  $L'$  || 8 afranianos  $D'L'$  af(aff-  $V$ )ranios  $T'$  | sui] summi *Pauly* || 9 mis(miss-  $L$ )isse  $ELUV$  missis s  $F$  misis.  $D$  missis. sed  $T$  || 10 decederent  $E$  rec-  $D\beta$  | uix  $ET'$  uis  $DU'$  suis  $L$  || 13 iri *edd uett* : ire | aliquo] aequo *Chacon* || 14 posset  $\beta$  post  $D'$

**72**, 2 uolnere  $DFT$  pr uolnere  $EUVL^2$ ,  $T$  corr uolnere  $L^1$  | quod  $\beta$  quo  $D'$  || 3 Quur  $U'$  || 4 amitteret  $r$  : mitteret || 4 cur — 5 milites om  $T$  || 4 quur  $U'$  | uolnere  $D$  uolnerari  $F$  uolnerari  $ELUV$  || 5 quur  $U'$  || 6 consiliū  $U'$  || 9 optinere  $D' LUT$  obt-  $FV$

sese non esse pugnaturus. ille in sua sententia perseuerat et paulum ex eo loco degreditur, ut timorem aduersariis minuat.

5 Petreius atque Afranius oblata facultate in castra sese referunt. Caesar pr<a>esidiis in montibus dispositis omni ad 15 Hiberum intercluso itinere, quam proxime potest hostium castris, castra communit.

1 73. Postero die duces aduersariorum perturbati, quod  
omnem rei frumentariae fluminisque Hiberi spem dimiserant,  
2 de reliquis rebus consultabant. erat unum iter, Ilerdam si  
reuertere uellent, alterum, si Tarraconem peterent. haec con-  
sulantibus eis nuntiantur aquatores ab equitatu premi nostro. 5  
3 qua re cognita crebras stationes disponunt equitum et cohortium  
alariarum legionariasque intericiunt cohorteis uallumque  
ex castris ad aquam ducere incipiunt, ut intra munitionem et  
4 sine timore et sine stationibus aquari possent. id opus inter  
se Petreius atque Afranius partiuntur ipsique perficiendi operis 10  
causa longius progrediuntur.

1 74. Quorum discessu liberam nacti milites colloquiorum  
facultatem uolgo procedunt, et quem quisque in castris no-  
2 tum aut municipem habebat, conquirunt atque euocat. primum  
agunt gratias omnes omnibus, quod sibi perterritis pridie  
pepercissent; eorum se beneficio uiuere. deinde imperatoris 5  
fidem quaerunt, rectene se illi sint commissuri, et, quod non  
ab initio fecerint armaque quod cum hominibus necessariis  
3 et consanguineis contulerint, queruntur. his prouocati ser-  
monibus fidem ab imperatore de Petrei atque Afrani uita  
petunt, nequod in se scelus concepisse neu suos prodidisse 10  
uideantur. quibus confirmatis rebus se statim signa trans-  
laturos confirmant legatosque de pace primorum ordinum

14 castra  $\beta$  castris  $D'$  || 15 in  $E$ , om  $D\beta$  | omni  $\beta$  om̄a  $D'$  || 16 inter-  
cluso  $U$  -clusos  $D' L F V$ ,  $T$  corr int̄clusit  $T$  pr | iti(ite  $L^1$ )nere  $\beta$  iti-  
nera  $D'$

73, 2 dimiserant  $\beta E$  -rat  $D$ ,  $E$  corr || 7 cohortes  $D'$  -tis  $\beta$  || 8 muni-  
tionē  $\beta$ ,  $E$  corr mutationē  $D'$  | et  $L'$  ut  $T$ , om  $D' V$  || 10 pficiendi  
 $U' T$  pficiendi  $D$  pficiendi  $ELV$

74, 1 conloquiorum  $L' T$  coll-  $D' V$  || 2 uolgo  $DF$  uulgo  $ELUT'$  |  
<Caesaris> castris  $Giesing$  || 3 euocat  $\beta$  uocat  $D'$  || 7 que  $Oudendorp$  :  
.I.  $DL$  id est  $E$  enī  $L^2$   $\bar{\eta}$   $U$  (in marg  $\bar{q}$ ), om  $F'T'$  | quod  $D'L'$  qui  
 $T$ , om  $V$  || 8 prouocati  $D' T$  -tis  $L' V$  || 9 afrani  $DL'$  af(aff-  $V$ )ranii  $ET'$



4 centuriones ad Caesarem mittunt. interim alii suos in castra  
 inuitandi causa adducunt, alii ab suis abducuntur, adeo ut  
 una castra iam facta ex binis uiderentur; compluresque tr(i-<sup>15</sup>  
 buni) mil(itum) <et> centuriones ad Caesarem ueniunt seque  
 5 ei commendant. idem hoc fit a principibus Hispaniae, quos  
 illi euocauerant et secum in castris habebant obsidum loco.  
 hi suos notos hospitesque quaerebant, per quem quisque eo-  
 6 rum aditum commendationis haberet ad Caesarem. Afrani<sup>20</sup>  
 etiam filius adulescens de sua ac parentis sui salute cum  
 7 Caesare per Sulpicium legatum agebat. erant plena laetitia  
 et gratulatione omnia, eorum, qui tanta pericula uitasse, et  
 eorum, qui sine uolnere tantas res confecisse uidebantur,  
 magnumque fructum suae pristinae lenitatis omnium iudicio<sup>25</sup>  
 Caesar ferebat, consiliumque eius a cunctis probabatur.

1     **75.** Quibus rebus nuntiatis Afranio, ab instituto opere  
 discedit seque in castra recipit, sic paratus, ut uidebatur, ut,  
 quicumque accidisset casus, hunc quieto et aequo animo fer-  
 2 ret. Petreius uero non deserit sese. armat familiam; cum  
 hac et pr<a>etoria cohorte caetratorum barbarisque equitibus<sup>5</sup>  
 paucis, beneficiariis suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere  
 consuerat, in prouiso ad uallum aduolat, colloquia militum  
 interrumpit, nostros repellit a castris, quos deprendit, inter-  
 3 ficit. reliquei coeunt inter se [et] repentino periculo exterriti  
 sinistras sagis inuoluunt gladiosque destringunt atque ita se<sup>10</sup>  
 a caetratis equitibusque defendunt castrorum propinquitate  
 confisi seque in castra recipiunt et ab [h]is cohortibus, quae  
 erant in statione ad portas, defenduntur.

1     **76.** Quibus rebus confectis flens Petreius manipulos  
 circumit militesque appellat, neu se neu Pompeium absentem

13 interim — 14 adducunt om *D'* || 14 abducunt<sup>2</sup> *D' V* adducuntur  
*L' T* || 16 <et> *cod. Dresdensis 83; et a 2. m. 122* || 17 fit  $\beta$  facit *D'* ||  
 18 illi om *T* || 19 hi *ELT Hii V ii U* his *D*, om *F* (*spatium 2 litt.*) |  
 notos  $\beta$  natos *D'* || 20 afrani *L' T* -nii *D' L<sup>2</sup>* affranii *V* || 21 adulescens

*D' FT* ado- *L' UV* | cum] cōn *L* || 24 uolnere *F* uulnere *D' LUT'*  
 75, 2 recipit *U' T'* -cepit *D' L* || 5 p̄toria cohorte *L'*, *D p. ras.*  
 pretoriam cohortē *D' T'* | caetratorū *DF* cetratorum *UT' L<sup>2</sup>* ceteratorū  
*L<sup>1</sup>* ceturatoꝝ *E* || 7 conloquia *LT* coll- *D' UV* || 9 reliqui *D' U'*  
*T' L<sup>2</sup>* Reliquit *L<sup>1</sup>* | et *del Giesing* || 10 destringunt *L' T* distr- *D' V* ||  
 11 caetratis *DF T* cetratis *LUV* ceturatis *E* || 12 is : his || 13 statione  
*D' L<sup>2</sup>* -nes  $\beta$

76, 2 milites  $\beta$ , *E corr* militib; *D'*



imperatorem suum aduersariis ad supplicium tradant, obse-  
 2 crat. fit celeriter concursus in pr<a>etorium. postula[n]t, ut  
 iurent omnes se exercitum ducesque non deserturos neque 5  
 prodituros neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium capturos.  
 3 princeps in haec uerba iurat ipse; idem ius iurandum adigit  
 Afranium; subsecuntur tribuni militum centurionesque; cen-  
 4 turiatim producti milites idem iurant. edicunt, penes quem  
 quisque sit Caesaris miles, ut producat: productos palam in 10  
 praetorio interficiunt. sed plerosque *i*, qui receperant, celant  
 5 noctuque per uallum emittunt. sic terrore oblato a ducibus  
 crudelitas in supplicio, noua religio iuris iurandi spem  
 pr<a>esentis deditiois sustulit mentesque militum conuertit  
 et rem ad pristinam belli rationem redegit. 15

1 77. Caesar, qui milites aduersariorum in castra per  
 tempus conloqui uenerant, summa diligentia conquiri et re-  
 2 mitti iubet. sed ex numero tribunorum militum centurio-  
 numque nonnulli sua uoluntate apud eum remanserunt.  
 quos ille postea magno in honore habuit; centuriones *in* 5  
 prioreis ordineis, eq(uites) R(omanos) in tribunicium restituit  
 honorem.

1 78. Premebantur Afraniani pabulatione, aquabantur aegre  
 frumenti copiam legionari nonnullam habebant, quod dierum  
 VIII ab Ilerda frumentum iussi erant efferre, caetrati auxilia-  
 resque nullam, quorum erant et facultates ad p<a>rand[i]um  
 2 exiguae et corpora insueta ad onera portanda. itaque magnus 5  
 eorum cotidie numerus ad Caesarem perfugiebat. in his erat  
 angustiis res. sed ex propositis consiliis duobus explicitius  
 uidebatur Ilerdam reuerti, quod ibi paulum frumenti relinqui-

4 concursus  $\beta$  cursus  $D'$  | postulat  $D^2$  : postulant || 5 iurent  $L'$  ueni-  
 rent  $D' T'$  || 7 iurat ipse;  $r$  : iurat. ipse  $D' U' T'$  iurat | ipse  $L$  || 8 sub-  
 secuntur  $U'$  subsequuntur  $ELT' D^2$  subsequit<sup>2</sup>  $D^1$  || 11 que *om*  $D^1$  |  
 i :  $L DL'$  hi  $T'$ , *om*  $E$  | qui  $D^1 \beta$  quos  $ED^2$  || 12 terrore oblato  $\beta$  ter-  
 ror ablatu<sup>e</sup>  $D'$  || 13 noua  $\beta$  naua  $D$  uana  $E$  || 15 redegit ( $red\bar{g}$   $L$ )  $\beta$   
 redigit  $D'$

77, 1 qui milites aduersariorum  $D' T'$  milites aduersariorum qui  
 $L'$  || 2 conloqui (conloq<sup>ii</sup>  $L$ )  $L'$  cloquii  $D$  cloqi<sup>i</sup>  $T'$  colloq<sup>i</sup>  $V$  colloquii  $E$  ||  
 5 in priores *Chacon* : amplioris  $D'$  -res  $\beta$  || 6 ordinis  $D'$  -nes  $\beta$

78, 2 copiam  $T'$  copia  $D' L'$  | nonnullam *Gryphius* : nonnulli ||  
 3 VIII *von Goeler* : XXII | caetrati  $DFT'$  cetr-  $LUV$  cetur-  $E$  || 4 pa-  
 randū  $r$  : prandium || 7 explicitius  $EL^2$  -tus  $D\beta$

rant. ibi se reliquum consilium explicaturos confidebant.

3 Tarraco aberat longius; quo spatio plures rem posse casus 10  
recipere intellegebant. hoc probato consilio ex castris pro-  
4 ficiscuntur. Caesar equitatu pr<a>emisso, qui nouissimum  
agmen carperet atque impediret, ipse cum legionibus subse-  
quitur. nullum intercedebat tempus, quin extremi cum equi-  
tibus proeliarentur. 15

1 79. Genus erat hoc pugnae. expeditae cohortes nouis-  
simum agmen claudebant pluresque in locis campestribus  
2 subsistebant. si mons erat ascendendus, facile ipsa loci na-  
tura periculum repellebat, quod ex locis superioribus, qui  
3 ante cesserant, suos ascendenteis protegebant; cum uallis aut 5  
locus decliuus suberat, neque [h]i, qui ante cesserant, moran-  
tibus opem ferre poterant, equites uero ex loco superiore in  
a[d]uersos tela coniciebant, tum magno erat in periculo res.  
4 relinquin[ir]ebatur, ut cum eiusmodi locis esset appropinquatum,  
legionum signa consistere iuberent magnoque impetu equitatum 10  
repellerent, eo summoto repente incitati cursu sese in ualleis  
uniuersi demitterent atque ita transgressi rursus in locis su-  
5 perioribus consisterent. nam tantum ab equitum suorum  
auxiliis aberant, quorum numerum habebant magnum, ut eos  
superioribus perterritos proeliis in medium reciperent agmen 15  
ultroque eos tuerentur; quorum nulli ex itinere excedere li-  
cebat, quin ab equitatu Caesaris exciperetur.

1 80. Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque paulatim  
proceditur crebroque, ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt; ut tum  
2 accidit. milia enim progressi III uehementiusque peragitati ab  
equitatu montem excelsum capiunt ibique una fronte contra  
3 hostem castra muniunt neque iumentis onera deponunt. ubi 5

10 Tarraco  $L^2$ : terraco (terra quo  $V$ ) | posse  $\beta$  positę  $D'$

79, 5 suos  $\beta$  desup  $D'$  | ascendentes  $D'UV^2$  -tis  $LFT'$  || 6 i:hi ||

8 auersos *Aldi nepos*: aduersos (aduersariōs<sup>(1)</sup>  $U$ ) | in  $D'U'T'$ , om  
 $LD^2$  || 9 rei inquirebat<sup>2</sup> — 11 cursu *E f. 74<sup>u</sup>*, om *f. 70<sup>r</sup>* || 9 relinquebatur  
*Cellarius*: rei inquirebatur  $\beta$  ut (út  $E$ ) rei inquirebat<sup>2</sup> (-bat  $Dp.ras$ )  $D'$  |  
appropinquatū  $D'$  adpropinquatū (-t'  $Lpr$ )  $\beta$  || 10 equitatū  $T'L^2$  equi-  
tatu  $L'$  e( $e D$ )quitū uī  $D'$  || 11 cursu sese in uallis  $\beta$  cursu: uigiliasq  
(uigiliaq; *E tum II 19, 10* in turrib;)  $D'$  et cursu (*f. 103<sup>r</sup>*) sese in uallef  
 $D$  sese in ualles  $E$  || 12 demitterent *Vascosan*: dimitterent

80, 1 lente  $\beta$  lent'  $D$ , om  $E$  | paulatim  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 2 suis  $\beta$   
sui  $D'$



Caesaris castra posita tabernaculaque constituta et dimissos equites pabulandi causa animum aduerterunt, sese subito proripiunt hora circiter sexta eiusdem diei et spem nacti 4 morae discessu nostrorum equitum iter facere incipiunt. quare animum aduersa Caesar [r]ductis legionibus subsequitur, 10 praesidio impedimentis paucas cohorteis relinquit; hora X subsequi, pabulatores equitesque reuocari iubet. celeriter 5 equitatus ad cotidianum itineris officium reuertitur. pugnatur acriter ad nouissimum agmen, adeo ut paene terga conuertant, compluresque milites, etiam nonnulli centuriones, in- 15 terficiuntur. instabat agmen Caesaris atque uniuersum imminebat.

1 **81.** Tum uero neque ad explorandum idoneum locum castris neque ad progrediendum data facultate consistunt necessario et procul ab aqua et natura iniquo loco castra po- 2 nunt. sed isdem de causis Caesar, quae supra sunt demonstratae, proelio non lacessit et eo die tabernacula statui pas- 5 sus non est, quo paratiores essent ad insequendum omnes, siue noctu siue interdiu erumperent. illi animaduerso uitio 3 castrorum tota nocte munitiones proferunt castraque castris conuertunt. hoc idem postero die a prima luce faciunt to- 4 tumque in ea re diem consumunt. sed quantum opere pro- 10 cesserant et castra protulerant, tanto aberant ab aqua longius, et pr<a>esenti malo aliis malis remediabantur. prima 5 nocte aquandi causa nemo egreditur ex castris; proximo die pr<a>esidio in castris relicto uniuersas ad aquam copias edu- 6 cunt, pabulatum emittitur nemo. his eos suppliciis male 15 haberi Caesar et necessariam subire deditionem quam pr<o>elio decertare malebat. conatur tamen eos uallo fossaque circum munire, ut quam maxime repentinas eorum eruptiones de-

10 eductis *Faerno* : relictis (-as *T pr*) || 11 cohortes *D' V<sup>2</sup>* -tis *β* | relinquit *T'* || 12 que *D' UT'*, om *LF'* || 15 cōpluresq. *D* compluresq; *β E* || 16 caesaris *D' LUT'* caesari *F* | imminebat *D' T* im- *V* inm- *L'* **81**, 4 isdem *FLT'* hisdē *DU* iisdē *E* || 5 proelio *F* plio *D' UT'* mpli *L<sup>1</sup>* āpli' *L<sup>2</sup>* | et *β* ex *D'* || 7 animaduerso *D' LV* enī anīaduerso *U'* enī aduerso *T* || 9 conuertunt *β* conuenerunt *D'* || 12 remediabantur *U pr* remedia dabantur *D' LFT'* || 13 relicto (*del L<sup>2</sup>*). Proximo die p̄sidio in castris | relicto *L* pximo die p̄sidio in castris relicto *U' T'* pximo die relicto p̄sidio in castris *D'* || 15 emittit<sup>2</sup> (emittitur *L*) *β* mittit<sup>2</sup> *D* mittitur *E* | suppliciis *cod. Leid. 38* : supplices || 16 cesar & necessariā *T'* cae(Ce- *U*)sari necessariam (ne cesar iā *D'*) *D' L'*



7 moretur; quo necessario descensuros existimabat. illi et in  
opia pabuli adducti et quo essent ad id expeditiores, omnia 20  
sarcinaria iumenta interfici iubent.

1 82. In his operibus consiliisque biduum consumitur;  
tertio die magna iam pars operis Caesaris processerat. illi  
impediendae re<l>iquae munitionis causa hora circiter VIII  
signo dato legiones ducunt aciemque sub castris instruunt.  
2 Caesar ab opere legiones reuocat, equitatum omnem conue- 5  
nire iubet, aciem instruit; contra opinionem enim militum  
famamque omnium uideri proelium defugisse magnum detri-  
3 mentum afferebat. sed eisdem de causis, quae sunt cognitae,  
quo minus dimicare uellet, mouebatur, atque hoc etiam ma-  
gis, quod spatii breuitas etiam in fugam coniectis aduersariis 10  
4 non multum ad summam uictoriae iuuare poterat. non enim  
amplius pedum milibus duobus ab castris castra distabant.  
hinc duas partes acies occupabant duae; tertia uacabat ad  
5 incursum atque impetum militum relicta. si proelium com-  
mitteretur, propinquitas castrorum celerem superatis ex fuga 15  
receptum dabat. hac de causa constituerat signa inferenti-  
bus resistere, prior proelio non lacessere.

1 83. Acies erat Afraniana duplex leg(ionum) v, tertium  
2 in subsidiis locum alariae cohortes obtinebant; Caesaris tri-  
plex; sed primam aciem quaternae cohortes ex v legionibus  
tenebant, has subsidiariae ternae et rursus aliae totidem suae  
cuiusque legionis subsequebantur; sagittarii funditoresque 5  
3 media continebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat. tali in-  
structa acie tenere uterque propositum uidebatur: Caesar,  
nisi coactus proelium non committere, ille, ut opera Cae-

20 ad id *del* *Kraffert*

82, 2 Tertio (-cio *U*) *L' T* Tertia *D'* ·III· *V* || 3 reliquae *Forch-*  
*hammer* : rei<sub>q</sub>; *L*<sup>1</sup> rei.  $\tilde{q}$  *U* rei  $\tilde{q}$ ; *F* rei que *T' L*<sup>2</sup> rei *D'* | munitionis  
causa *D'* munitionis (-es *L pr*) causa fiebat *L'* munitionis (-nes *T*)  
fiebat causa *T'* || 4 educunt *Aldo* || 6 instruunt *D' T'* instruit *L'* || 7 proe-  
lium defugisse *Hotman* :  $\bar{p}$ (pre- *F*)lio diffugisse || 8 adferebat *L' T'* aff-  
*D' V* || 11 sūmā  $\beta$  summa *D'* || 11 iuuare — 13 duas *om F* || 13 uaca-  
bat *T'* uagabatur *D' L'* || 17 resistere *r* : desistere

83, 1 leg *DL T* legio *EV* | tertium *Chacon* : tertia (-cia *V*) ||  
2 alariae  $\beta$  alię *D'* | cohortes *D' T'* -tis *L'* | ob(op- *E*)tinebant  
*D' T'* obtinebat *L'* || 4 et rursus aliae *om T'* || 5 legionis (-ñ *T*)  $\beta$   
-nib. *D'*

saris impediret. producitur tamen res aciesque ad solis oc-  
 4 casum continentur; inde utrique in castra discedunt. postero 10  
 die munitiones institutas Caesar parat perficere; illi uadum  
 5 fluminis Sicoris temptare, si transire possent. qua re animad-  
 uersa Caesar Germanos leuis armaturae equitumque partem  
 flumen traicit crebrasque in ripis custodias disponit.

1 84. Tandem omnibus rebus obsessi quartum iam diem  
 sine pabulo retentis iumentis, aquae, lignorum, frumenti in-  
 opia, conloquium petunt et id, si fieri possit, semoto a mi-  
 2 litibus loco. ubi id a Caesare negatum et, palam si conloqui  
 uellent, concessum est, datur obsidis loco Caesari filius Afrani. 5  
 3 uenitur in eum locum, quem Caesar delegit. audiente utro-  
 que exercitu loquitur Afranius: non esse aut ipsis aut mili-  
 tibus suscensendum, quod fidem erga imperatorem suum Cn.  
 4 Pompeium conseruare uoluerunt. sed satis iam fecisse officio  
 satisque supplicii tulisse perpressos omnium rerum inopiam; 10  
 nunc uero paene ut feras circummunitos prohiberi aqua, pro-  
 hiberi ingressu, neque corpore dolorem neque animo ignomi-  
 5 niam ferre posse. itaque se uictos confiteri; orare atque ob-  
 secrare, siqui locus misericordiae relinquatur, ne ad ultimum  
 supplicium progredi necesse habeat. haec quam potest de- 15  
 mississime et subiectissime exponit.

1 85. Ad ea Caesar respondit: nulli omnium has parteis  
 2 uel querimoniae uel miserationis minus conuenisse. reliquos  
 enim omneis officium suum praestitisse: <se>, qui etiam bona  
 conditione et loco et tempore aequo configere noluerit, ut  
 quam integerrima essent ad pacem omnia; exercitum suum, 5  
 qui iniuria etiam accepta suisque interfectis, quos in sua  
 potestate habuerit, conseruarit et texerit; illius denique ex-  
 ercitus milites, qui per se de concilianda pace egerint, qua

12 si(sy- V)coris  $\beta$  sicū<sup>c</sup> D siccū E

84, 2 lignoꝝ T' -no D' -ni L' || 3 con(col- E)loquiū D' L' con(col-  
 V)loquia T' || 4 id  $\beta$ , om D' || 5 afrani L' af(aff- V)ranii D' T' ||

6 uenitur  $\beta$  uenit D' || 8 suscense(i- L)ndum DL', T corr succensendū  
 ET' || 10 supplicii  $\beta$  -cio D' || 11 feras Vossius : feminas || 13 habeant  
 T' | demississime U' T' dimis(ss- L)issime D' LV

85, 1 partes D' VL<sup>2</sup> -tis L' T' || 3 om̄s D' omnes V<sup>2</sup> omnis  $\beta$  |  
 <se> Aldo || 4 conditione D' LUV cōditione ne T' condicione F | no-  
 luerit D pr -runt E -rint  $\beta$  || 6 qui  $\beta$ , om D || 7 conseruarit  $\beta$  -uauit D  
 -uauerit E || 8 egerint  $\beta$  -runt D'



3 in re omnium suorum uitae consulendum putarint. sic om-  
 nium ordinum parteis in misericordia constituisse, ipsos duces 10  
 a pace abhorruisse; eos neque conloqui neque indutiarum  
 iura seruasse et homines imperitos et per conloquium de-  
 4 ceptos crudelissime interfecisse. accidisse igitur his, quod  
 plerumque hominibus nimia pertinacia atque adrogantia acci-  
 dere soleat, uti eo recurrant et id cupidissime petant, quod 15  
 5 paulo ante contempserint. neque nunc se illorum humanitate  
 neque aliqua temporis oportunitate postulare, quibus rebus  
 opes augeantur suae; sed eos exercitus, quos contra se mul-  
 6 tos iam annos aluerint, uelle dimitti. neque enim sex legio-  
 nes alia de causa missas in Hispaniam septimanque ibi con- 20  
 scriptam, neque tot tantasque classeis paratas neque submis-  
 7 sos duces rei militaris peritos. nihil horum ad pacandas  
 Hispanias, nihil ad usum prouinciae prouisum, quae propter  
 8 diuturnitatem pacis nullum auxilium desiderarit. omnia haec  
 iam pridem contra se parari; in se noui generis imperia 25  
 constitui, ut idem ad portas urbanis pr<a>esidea<t> rebus et  
 9 duas bellicosissimas prouincias absens tot annos obtineat; in  
 se iura magistratum commutari, ne ex praetura et consulatu,  
 ut semper, set per paucos probati et electi in prouincias  
 mittantur; in se aetatis excusationem nihil ualere, quod su- 30  
 perioribus bellis probati ad optinendos exercitus euocentur;  
 10 in se uno non seruari, quod sit omnibus datum semper im-  
 peratoribus, ut rebus feliciter gestis aut cum honore aliquo  
 aut certe sine ignominia domum reuertantur exercitumque  
 11 dimittant. quae tamen omnia et se tulisse patienter et esse 35  
 laturum; neque nunc id agere, ut ab illis abductum exerci-  
 tum teneat ipse, quod tamen sibi difficile non sit, sed ne illi  
 12 habeant, quo contra se uti possint. proinde, ut esset dictum,

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10 partes *D'* -tis  $\beta$  || 11 indutiarū *D* -ciarum (-sum *U*) *E* $\beta$  || 14 ho-  
 minib. *D'* -nū  $\beta$  | adrogan(-a- *L*)tia *DL'* arrogantia *ET'* || 15 soleat  $\beta$   
 -let *D'* || 16 humanitate] humilitate *Aldo* || 19 sex *D'FT* .VI. *LUV* ||  
 21 classes *D'V*<sup>2</sup> -is  $\beta$  || 22 militares *U'* | horum *L'* quorum *D'T'* ||  
 26 urbanis praesideat *Aldo* : urbanis  $\bar{p}$ sidia *L'V* urbanis  $\bar{p}$ sidia *T* ur-  
 banū  $\bar{p}$ ( $\bar{p}$ //re- *D*)sidia *D'* || 27 absens  $\beta$  abse *D'* | annos *D'L'* annis *T'* ||  
 28 magistratum *D'LU**T'* -tū *F* || 29 ut  $\beta$  & *D'* | sed *Aldo* : sit *D'*  
*L'* fit *T'* || 30 quod  $\beta E$  qđ *D* quin *Jurin* || 31 ad] ab *U'*



provinciis excederent exercitumque dimitterent; *sei id sit factum*, se nociturum nemini. hanc unam atque extremam esse 40  
pacis conditionem.

1 86. Id uero militibus fuit pergratum et iucundum, ut  
ex ipsa significatione cognosci potuit, ut, qui aliquid iusti  
incommodi expectauissent, ultro pr<a>emium missionis fer-  
2 rent. nam cum de loco et de tempore eius rei controuersia  
inferretur, et uoce et manibus uniuersi ex uallo, ubi consti- 5  
terant, significare coeperunt, ut statim dimitterentur, neque  
omni interposita fide firmum esse posse, si in aliud tempus  
3 differretur. paucis cum esset in utramque partem uerbis  
disputatum, res huc deducitur, ut ei, qui habeant domicilium  
aut possessionem in Hispania, statim, reliqui ad Varum flumen 10  
4 dimittantur; nequid eis noceatur neu quis inuitus sacramento  
dicere cogatur, a Caesare cauetur.

1 87. Caesar ex eo tempore, dum ad flumen Varum ue-  
niatur, se frumentum daturum pollicetur. addit etiam, ut  
quod quisque eorum in bello amiserit, quae sint penes mili-  
tes suos, [h]is, qui amiserant, restituat<ur>; militibus aequa  
2 facta aestimatione pecuniam pro his rebus dissoluit. quas 5  
cumque postea controuersias inter se milites habuerunt, sua  
3 sponte ad Caesarem in ius adierunt. Petreius atque Afranius  
cum stipendium ab legionibus paene seditione facta flagita-  
re<n>tur, cuius illi diem nondum uenisse dicerent, Caesar ut  
cognosceret, postulatum est, eoque utrique, quod statuit, 10  
4 contenti fuerunt. parte circiter tertia exercitus eo biduo di-  
missa duas legiones suas ante cedere, reliquas subsequi ius-

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39 que *om U'* | si id sit *Aldo* : sed si id sit *D' L' T* S; id sit <sup>*fuerit*</sup> *V* ||  
40 se nociturum  $\beta$  nociturū se *D'* || 41 conditionem *D' L U T'* cendi-  
cionē *F*

86, 2 aliquid *EL*<sup>2</sup> aliqui *Dβ* | iusti *T'* uicti *D' L'* || 8 differre-  
tur *EUT'* differetur *DLF'* || 9 ei *U' T* e *L* ii *D'* illi *in ras V* ||  
10 possessionem  $\beta$  -nes *D'* | hispania *L* hi(hy- *E*)spaniam *D' U' T'* |  
reliqui  $\beta$  relinqui *D'* || 11 quid *D' U' T'* cui *L corr* qui *L pr* || eis]  
his *L* | sacramtū *T'*

87, 3 quod *Nipperdey* : quid || 4 his *D' U' T' L*<sup>2</sup> hi *L*<sup>1</sup> | a(ad- *U*)-  
miserant] amiserint *V* | restituatur *Aldo* : restituat || 5 reb. (rebi *L*<sup>1</sup>)  
dissoluit  $\beta$  dissoluit rebus *D'* || 7 in ius *Guilielmus* : intus || 8 flagita-  
rentur *Aldo* : flagigaretur || 10 est  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 11 parte  $\beta$  parti *D'* |  
eo  $\beta$  parte eo *D'*

sit, ut non longo inter se spatio castra facerent, eique ne-  
 5 gotio Q. Fufeium Calenum leg(atum) praeficit. hoc eius  
 praescripto ex Hispania ad Varum flumen est iter factum, 15  
 atque ibi reliqua pars exercitus dimissa est.

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13 negocio *T'* || 14 Q.  $\beta$ , om *D'* | fuf(fus- *E*)eium] fufū *V* | praeficit  
*D* $\beta$  praeficit *E* || 14 hoc — II 1, 2 erat *in ras E*

KIRT (KIRC *U*)<sup>II</sup> PANSAE belli civilis Gai (.c. *F*) CAESARIS LIB. I.  
 (PRIMVS *F'*) EXPLICIT. (FELICIT̄ *add. F*) *U'*

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS BELLII CIVILIS. *T*

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## II.

- 1        1. Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, C. Trebonius leg(atus),  
 qui ad oppugnationem Massiliae relictus erat, duabus ex par-  
 2        tibus aggerem, uineas turresque ad oppidum agere instituit.  
 una erat proxima portu naualibusque, altera ad portam, qua  
 est aditus ex Gallia atque Hispania, ad id mare, quod ad- 5  
 3        <t>i<n>git ad ostium Rhodani. Massilia enim fere tribus ex  
 oppidi partibus mari alluitur; reliqua quarta est, quae aditum  
 habeat ab terra. huius quoque spatii pars ea, quae ad arcem  
 pertinet, loci natura et ualle altissima munita longam et diffi-  
 4        cilem habet oppugnationem. ad ea perficienda opera C. Tre- 10  
 bonius magnam iumentorum atque hominum multitudinem  
 ex omni prouincia uocat; uimina materiamque comportari  
 iubet. quibus comparatis rebus aggerem in altitudinem pe-  
 d(um) LXXX extruit.
- 1        2. Sed tanti erant antiquitus in oppido omnium rerum  
 ad bellum apparatus tantaque multitudo tormentorum, ut  
 eorum uim nullae contextae uiminibus uineae sustinere pos-  
 2        sent. asseses enim ped(um) XII cuspidibus pr<a>efixi atque

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*Librum II primo continuat D' INCIPIIT. II. (LIBER SECVND' F) FELI-  
 CITER U' INCIPIIT LIBER: SECVNDVS EIVSDEM OPERIS. T) Incipit. Scds. lib.  
 ciuili<sup>s</sup>. belli. V Inscr. om L*

1, 1 Dum — legatus om D' || 4 portu DT' portui EU' L<sup>2</sup>  
 oportuit L<sup>1</sup> | portam Jurin : partē | qua D' LF que U que T' || 5 ex  
 gallia β ad galliam D' | hispania (-ama T pr.) β hi(hy E)spaniã D' |  
 adtingit Buecheler : adigit (āgit T) || 6 ostiū EU' hostium DLT' | op-  
 pidi del Chacon || 7 alluitur D' U' V adluitur LT | habet L<sup>2</sup> || 8 ab  
 terra β ad terram (-ra L<sup>2</sup>) D' L<sup>2</sup> | spatii L<sup>1</sup> spat(c D)ii D' U' T' L<sup>2</sup> ||  
 12 uocat] euocat Chacon || 13 comparatis Eβ comp- D

2, 4 atque hi maximis om L



hi maximis balistis missi per III ordines cratium in terra[m] 5  
 3 defigebantur. itaque pedalibus lignis coniunctis inter se por-  
 ticus integebantur, atque hac agger inter manus proferebatur.  
 4 ante cedebat testudo ped(um) LX aequandi loci causa facta  
 item ex fortissimis lignis, conuoluta omnibus rebus, quibus  
 5 ignis iactus et lapides defendi possent. sed magnitudo ope- 10  
 rum, altitudo muri atque turrium, multitudo tormentorum  
 6 omnem administrationem tardabat. crebrae *etiam* per Albicos  
 eruptiones fiebant ex oppido ignesque aggeri et turribus in-  
 ferebantur; quae facile nostri milites repellebant magnisque  
 ultro inlatis detrimentis eos, qui eruptionem fecerant, in oppi- 15  
 dum reiciebant.

1       **3.** Interim L. Nasidius ab Cn. Pompeio cum classe na-  
 uium XVI, in quibus paucae erant aeratae, L. Domitio Massi-  
 liensibusque subsidio missus freto Siciliae imprudente atque  
 2 inopinante Curione peruehitur adpulsisque Messanam nauibus  
 atque inde propter repentinum terrorem principum ac senatus 5  
 3 fuga facta ex naualibus eorum <nauem unam> deducit. hac  
 adiuncta ad reliquas naues cursum Massiliam uersus perficit  
 pr<a>emissaque clam nauicula Domitium Massiliensisque de  
 suo aduentu certiores facit eosque magnopere hortatur, ut  
 rursus cum Bruti classe additis suis auxiliis configant. 10

1       **4.** Massilienses post superius incommodum ueteres ad  
 eundem numerum ex naualibus productas nauis refecerant  
 summaque industria armauerant (remigum, gubernatorum  
 2 magna copia subpetebat) piscatoriasque adiecerant atque con-  
 texerant, ut essent ab ictu telorum remiges tuti; has sagit- 5  
 3 tariis tormentisque compleuerunt. tali modo instructa classe  
 omnium seniorum, matrum familiae, uirginum precibus et

5 .III. *EL* .III. *T'* quatt (<sup>a</sup>qt *U*)uor *DU'* | terra *r* : terram || 9 cūo-  
 luta *T'* e(ae *D*)uoluta *D'L'* || 12 crebre (-e *LUT*) *β* -o *D'* | etiam  
*Nipperdey* : tamen | albicos *Eβ* albiccos *D* || 14 facile *β* -lius *D'* ||  
 15 inlatis *L'T* inaltis *D* illatis *EV*

3, 1 cum] <sup>∨</sup> con *L* || 4 messanā *β* -nia *D'* || 5 repentinōm *L* ||  
 6 <nauem> *Oudendorp* | <vnām> *L*<sup>3</sup> <unā> *r* || 8 massilienses *EV*<sup>2</sup>  
 -sis *β* -sib; *D*

4, 1 p' *U'* || 2 nauis *DLFT* -es *EUUV* || 4 subpetebat *DU* supp-  
*ELFT'* || 5 tuti has *βD*<sup>2</sup> ut hias *D*<sup>1</sup> tuti. *E* || 6 cōpleuer *D* comple-  
 uerunt *β* cōpleuerant *E*

fletu excitati, extremo tempore ciuitati subuenirent, non minore animo ac fiducia, quam ante dimicauerant, naues descendunt. communi enim fit uitio naturae, ut inuisi[slati]tatis atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus uehementiusque exterreamur; ut tum accidit. aduentus enim L. Nasidi summa spe et uoluntate ciuitatem compleuerat. nacti idoneum uentum ex portu exeunt et Tauroenta, quod est castellum Massiliensium, ad Nasidium perueniunt ibique naues expediunt rursusque se ad configendum animo confirmant et consilia communicant. dextra pars attribuitur Massiliensibus, sinistra Nasidio.

5. Eodem Brutus contendit aucto nauium numero. nam ad eas, quae factae erant Arelate per Caesarem, captiuae Massiliensium accesserant sex. has superioribus diebus referat atque omnibus rebus instruxerat. itaque suos cohortatus, quos integros superauissent, ut uictos contemnerent, plenus spei bonae atque animi aduersus eos proficiscitur. facile erat ex castris C. Treboni atque omnibus superioribus locis prospicere in urbem, ut omnis iuuentus, quae in oppido remanserat, omnesque superioris aetatis cum liberis atque uxoribus publicis <locis> custodiisque aut muro ad caelum manus tenderent aut templa deorum immortalium adirent et ante simulacra proiecti uictoriam ab dis exposcerent. neque erat quisquam omnium, quin in eius diei casu suarum omnium fortunarum euentum consistere existimaret. nam et honesti ex iuuentute et cuiusque aetatis amplissimi nominatim eocati atque obsecrati nauis conscenderant, ut siquid aduersi accidisset, ne ad conandum quidem sibi quicquam reliqui fore

10 communi enī *L'* commu (Commu ante 3 litterarum spatium *E*) enī *D'* cōmmuni etiam *T'* | fit β, om *D'* | inuisitatis *Elberling* : inuisis latitatis (latitantib; *L*<sup>2</sup>) || 11 incognitis rebus magis β inlatis . cognitis magis rebus *D'* || 12 nasidi *L'* -dii *D' T'* || 13 compleuerat *DL cōp- EU' T'* || 16 consilia β -lio *D'*

5, 2 arelate *LUT'* -te *D' F'* || 3 massiliensium β a massiliensib. *D'* || 3 dieb. refecerat (-ant *V*) β refecerat diebus *D'* || 5 contemnerent *DU'* contempn- *ELT'* || 6 eos *T'* eas *D' L'* || 7 treboni *L' T'* -nej *V* -nii *D'* || 9 q. β, om *D'* | superiores *L'* || 10 puplicis *D a. ras.* | <locis> *Buecheler* | custodibus *D a. ras.* | q. *L' T'* que *D' V'* || 13 quin in (*in ras. E*) *D'* quinon in *L* quin *U' T'* || 15 amplissima *U'* || 16 nauis *DLFT* -es *EUV'*



uiderent; si superauiſſent, uel domesticis opibus uel externis auxiliis de ſalute urbis confiderent.

1       6. Commiſſo proelio Maſſilienſibus reſ nulla ad uirtutem  
defuit; ſed memores eorum praeceptorum, quae paulo ante  
ab ſuis acceperant, hoc animo decertabant, ut nullum aliud  
tempus ad conandum habituri uiderentur et, quibus in pugna  
uitae periculum accideret, non ita multo ſe reliquorum ciuium 5  
fatum ante cedere exiſtimarent, quibus urbe capta eadem eſſet  
2 belli fortuna patienda. diductiſque noſtris paulatim nauibus  
et artificio gubernatorum <et> mobilitatei nauium locus da-  
batur, et ſiquando noſtri facultatem nacti ferreis manibus in-  
iectis nauem religauerant, undique ſuis laborantibus ſuccurre- 10  
3 bant. neque uero coniuncti Albicis comminus pugnando  
deficiebant neque multum cedebant uirtute noſtris. ſimul ex  
minoribus nauibus magna uis eminus miſſa telorum multa  
noſtris de inprouiſo imprudentibus atque inpeditis uulnera  
4 inferebant. conſpicataeque naues triremes duae nauem D. 15  
Bruti, quae ex i<nsi>gni facile agnoſci poterat, duabus ex  
partibus ſeſe in eam incitauerant. ſed tantum re prouiſa  
Brutus celeritate nauis eniſus eſt, ut paruo momento ante  
5 cederet. illae adeo grauiter inter ſe incitatae conflixerunt, ut  
uehementiſſime utraque ex concurſu laborarent, altera uero 20  
6 pr<a>efracto roſtro tota conlabefieret. qua re animaduerſa,  
quae proximae ei loco ex Bruti claſſe naues erant, in eaſ  
inpeditas impetum faciunt celeriterque ambas deprimunt.

1       7. Sed Naſidianae naues nullo uſui fuerunt celeriterque  
pugna exceſſerunt; non enim haſ aut conſpectus patriae aut  
propinquorum pr<a>ecepta ad extremum uitae periculum adire  
2 cogeabant. itaque ex eo numero nauium nulla deſiderata eſt;

18 ſi — 19 confiderent *om L* | externis *U' T'* -trenis *D* -traneis *E*

6, 5 accideret *E* -idere *D* -i (-e *L*)derat  $\beta$  | ſe] ſed *L*, *del Paul* ||

8 et  $\beta$ , *om D'* | <&> *L*<sup>2</sup> | mobilitati *D' LUT'* -tē<sup>i</sup> *F* || 10 nauim *T'* ||

11 neque — 12 noſtris *del Vielhaber* | uero — 13 neque *om D'* | Albici

*Heller* | pugnando *T'* pugna *L'* || 14 in(i *F*)peditis *DU'* imp- *ELT'* ||

15 nauis *U'* | triremis *L'* | nauim *T'* || 16 inſigni *Dresdenses 122*

et 83 : igni | agnoſcere *T'* || 17 tantum  $\beta$  tanta *D'* || 18 eniſus

(eniſus' *L*<sup>1</sup>)  $\beta$  uſus *D'* || 21 p̄(p- *E*)fracto *D' L'* p̄f(p̄s- *V*)ecto *T'* ||

22 claſſi *D* || 23 inpeditas *D* impeditas *E* $\beta$

7, 1 nulli *L*



ex Massiliensium classe v sunt depressae, IIII captae, una 5  
cum Nasidianis profugit; quae omnes citeriorem Hispaniam  
3 petiuerunt. at ex reliquis una pr<a>emissa Massiliam huius  
nuntii perferendi gratia cum iam adpropinquaret urbi, omnis  
sese multitudo ad cognoscendum effudit, et re cognita tantus  
luctus excepit, ut urbs ab hostibus capta eodem uestigio 10  
4 uideretur. Massilienses tamen nihilo setius ad defensionem  
urbis reliqua apparare coeperunt.

1 8. Est animaduersum ab legionariis, qui dextram partem  
operis administrabant, ex crebris hostium eruptionibus magno  
sibi esse pr<a>esidio posse, si ibi pro castello ac receptaculo  
turrim ex latere sub muro fecissent. quam primo ad repen-  
2 tinos incursus humilem paruumque fecerunt. huc se refere- 5  
bant; hinc, si qua maior oppresserat uis, propugnabant; hinc  
ad repellendum et prosequendum hostem procurrebant. patebat  
haec quoque uersus pedes xxx, sed parietum crassitudo pedes v.  
3 postea uero, ut est rerum omnium magister usus, hominum  
adhibita sollertia inuentum est magno esse usui posse, si 10  
haec esset in altitudinem turris elata. id hac ratione per-  
fectum est.

1 9. Vbi turris altitudo perducta est ad contabulationem,  
eam in parietes instruxerunt, ita ut capita tignorum extrema  
parietum structura tegerentur, nequid emineret, ubi ignis  
2 hostium adhaeresceret. hanc insuper contignationem, quan-  
tum tectum plutei ac uinearum passum est, latericulo ad- 5  
struxerunt supraque eum locum II tigna transuersa iniecerunt  
[ut] non longe ab extremis parietibus, quibus suspenderent  
eam contignationem, quae turri tegimento esset futura, supra-  
que ea tigna directo transuersas trabes iniecerunt ea<s>que  
3 axibus religauerunt. has trabes paulo longiores atque eminen- 10

5 massiliensium  $\beta$  -si  $D'$  || 9 ad co (a-  $L^2$ )gnoscendum  $D' L'$ , om  $T'$  |  
et  $\beta$  at  $D'$  || 11 defensionē  $T'$  -nes  $D' L' V$

8, 3 esse om  $U'$  | ibi  $T'$ , om  $D' L'$  || 5 referebant (referant  
 $L'$ )  $\beta L^2$  ferebant  $D'$  || 7 repellendum (-pellum  $L^1$ )  $\beta$  rependum  $D'$  ||  
8 quoque  $D'$  quoq;  $L'$  quaq;  $L^2$ , om  $T'$

9, 1 Ubi *Oudendorp* : ibi | contabulationem, eam *Aldo* : con-  
tabul(-bl-  $L^1$ )ationis causa || 2 instruxerant  $U'$  || 6 II  $D U' T$  duo  $EV$ ,  
om  $L$  || 7 ut *del*  $L^2$  | suspenderē  $T'$  || 8 tegimēto  $F'$  || 9 directo  $D' T'$   
directo  $L$  directa  $U'$  | eas *cod. Cuiacianus* : ea

tiores, quam extremi parietes erant, effecerunt, ut esset, ubi  
 tegimenta pr<a>ependere possent ad defendendos ictus ac  
 repellendos, cum inter eam contignationem parietes extrue-  
 4 rentur; eamque contabulationem summam lateribus lutoque  
 constrauerunt, nequid ignis hostium nocere posset, centones- 15  
 que insuper iniecerunt, ne aut tela tormentis missa tabula-  
 tionem perfringerent au saxa ex catapultis latericium discu-  
 5 terent. storias autem ex funibus anchorariis III in longitu-  
 dinem parietum turris latas III pedes fecerunt easque ex  
 tribus partibus, quae ad hostes uergebant, eminentibus tra- 20  
 bibus circum turrem praependentes religauerunt; quod unum  
 genus tegimenti aliis locis erant experti nullo telo neque  
 6 tormento traici posse. ubi uero ea pars turris, quae erat  
 perfecta, tecta atque munita est ab omni ictu hostium, plu-  
 teos ad alia opera abduxerunt; turris tectum per se ipsum 25  
 pressionibus ex contignatione prima suspendere ac tollere  
 7 coeperunt. ubi quantum storiarum demissio patiebatur, tan-  
 tum eleuarant, intra haec tegimenta abditi atque muniti  
 parietes lateribus extruebant rursusque alia pressione ad  
 8 aedificandum sibi locum expediebant. ubi tempus alterius 30  
 contabulationis uidebatur, tigna item ut primo tecta extremis  
 lateribus instruebant exque ea contignatione rursus summam  
 9 contabulationem storiasque eleuabant. ita tuto ac sine ullo  
 uulnere ac periculo sex tabulata extruxerunt fenestrasque,  
 quibus in locis uisum est, ad tormenta mittenda in struendo 35  
 reliquerunt.

1        10. Vbi ex ea turri, quae circum essent opera, tueri se  
 posse sunt confisi, musculum ped(es) LX longum ex materia

13 inter eã *D'* interea  $\beta$  intra  $L^2$  intra eam *Vascosan* || 15 castraue-  
 runt *T'* | nequid (ne quidē *V*)  $\beta$  neq. *D* nequis *E* || 16 insuper  $\beta$ ,  
 om *D'* | missa *D'L'* in(*i* *V*)missa *T'* | tabulationē *D'U'L^2*  
 trib-  $L^1T'$  || 17 au<sup>t</sup> *D* aut *E* $\beta$  | catapultis  $\beta$  -*l*is *D'* | latericium  $\beta$   
 -itiū *D'* || 18 anchorariis *D'L'V* ancor- *T* || 20 ad om *T* | uergebant  
*D'L'* p̄ urguebant *T* urgebant *V* || 20 eminentibus *D'LT'* imminen-  
 tib; *U'* || 21 turrim *T'* || 23 quae *L'V* q̄, *T* quā *D'* || 26 pressionib. *T'*  
 pre(pre *D*)nsionibus *D'L'* || 28 eleuarant *Kraner* : ele(ela *D*)uabant ||  
 29 pressione *Lips* : pre(preē *D*)nsione || 31 tecta  $\beta$ , *D* corr terta *D* pr.  
 certa *E* || 32 sūmā *LT'* summa *D'U'* || 33 contabulationē  $\beta$  -ne  
*D'* || 35 in struendo *D'* instruendo *L'* instruenda *T'*

10, 2 sunt *D'U'* s̄ *T* statī *V*, om *L*



bipedali, quem a turri latericia ad hostium turrem murumque  
 perducerent, facere instituerunt; cuius musculi haec erat forma.  
 2 duae primum trabes in solo aequae long(a)e distantes inter 5  
 se ped(es) IIII collocantur inque eis columellae pedum in alti-  
 3 tudinem v defiguntur. has inter se capreolis molli fastigio  
 coniungunt, ubi tigna, quae musculi tegendi causa ponant,  
 conlocentur. eo super tigna bipedalia iniciunt eaque lam-  
 4 minis clavisque religant. ad extremum musculi tectum tra- 10  
 besque extremas quadratas regulas IIII patentis digitos de-  
 figunt, quae lateres, qui super musculo[s] struantur, contineant.  
 5 ita fastigato atque ordinatim structo, ut trabes erant in  
 capreolis conlocatae, in lateribus luto musculus, ut ab igni,  
 6 qui ex muro iaceretur, tutus esset, contegitur. super lateres 15  
 coria inducuntur, ne canalibus aqua inmissa lateres diluere  
 posset. coria autem, ne rursus igni ac lapidibus corrumpantur,  
 7 tur, centonibus conteguntur. hoc opus omne tectum uineis  
 ad ipsam turrem perficiunt subitoque inopinantibus hostibus  
 machinatione nauali phalangis subiectis ad turrem hostium 20  
 admouent, ut aedificio iungatur.

1 11. Quo malo perterriti subito oppidani saxa, quam  
 maxima possunt, uectibus promouent praecipitataque muro in  
 musculum deuoluunt. ictum firmitas materiae sustinet, et  
 2 quicquid incidit, fastigio musculi elabitur. id ubi uident,  
 mutant consilium; cupas taeda ac pice refertas incendunt 5  
 easque de muro in musculum deuoluunt. inuolutae labuntur,  
 delapsae ab lateribus longuriis furcisque ab opere remouentur.  
 3 interim sub musculo milites uectibus infima saxa turris  
 hostium, quibus fundamenta continebantur, conuellunt. muscu-  
 lus ex turri latericia a nostris telis tormentisque defenditur; 10

3 quem a r : quae (q̄ U) a L' que a D' T' que L<sup>2</sup> | turri T' ||  
 5 aequae (eque U' T') longe β equa lege D' || 6 ped DLT pedes U'  
 pedū EV | collocantur et 9 conlocentur DL' coll- ET' || 10 tectū  
 trabesq.] tectiq. trabes T' || 11 patentis D' L' T -te<sup>s</sup> V || 12 musculo  
 Manuzio : musculo(o in ras V)s, del Nipperdey || 13 ut trabes (utra-  
 bes L<sup>1</sup>) β ut t(a D)rabes que D' trabes que L<sup>2</sup> || 14 conlocatae (te L)  
 DL' collocatę (-te T) ET' | in del L<sup>2</sup> | luto<que> Aldo | musculus  
 D' L' -lis T' -los T corr | igni D' L' V ignē<sup>1</sup> T || 16 diluere Eβ  
 del- D || 17 poss<i>et? || 19 ipsū T' | turrem DL' -ī ET' || 20 machi-  
 natione nauali phalangis om V in lacuna 7 litterarum | turrē DL' -im ET'

11, 2 <de> muro Paul || 4 delabitur L || 10 latericia β -tia D'



hostes ex muro ac turribus summouentur; non datur libera  
 4 muri defendundi facultas. compluribus iam lapidibus ex illa,  
 quae suberat, turri subductis repentina ruina pars eius turris  
 concidit, pars reliqua consequens procumbebat, cum hostes  
 urbis direptione perterriti inermes cum infulis se porta foras 15  
 uniuersi proripiunt, ad legatos atque exercitum supplices  
 manus tendunt.

1       **12.** Qua noua re oblata omnis administratio belli con-  
 sistit militesque auersi a proelio ad studium audiendi et  
 2 cognoscendi feruntur. ubi hostes ad legatos exercitumque  
 peruenerunt, uniuersi se ad pedes proiciunt; orant, ut ad-  
 3 uentus Caesaris expectetur. captam suam urbem uidere, 5  
 opera perfecta, turrem subrutam; itaque ab defensione de-  
 sistere. nullam exoriri moram posse, quominus cum uenisset,  
 si imperata non facerent, ad nutum e uestigio diriperentur.  
 4 docent, si omnino turris concidisset, non posse milites con-  
 tineri, quin spe praedae in urbem inrumperent urbemque 10  
 delerent. haec atque eiusdem generis complura ut ab homini-  
 bus doctis magna cum misericordia fletuque pronuntiantur.

1       **13.** Quibus rebus commoti legati milites ex opere de-  
 ducunt, oppugnatione desistunt; operibus custodias relinquunt.  
 2 indutiarum quodam genere misericordia facto aduentus Cae-  
 saris expectatur. nullum ex muro, nullum a nostris mittitur  
 telum; ut re confecta omnes curam et diligentiam remittunt. 5  
 3 Caesar enim per litteras Trebonio magnopere mandauerat, ne  
 per uim oppidum expugnari pateretur, ne grauius permoti  
 milites et defectionis odio et contemptione sui et diutino  
 4 labore omnes puberes interficerent; quod se facturos mina-  
 bantur aegreque tunc sunt retenti, quin <in> oppidum 10

11 summouent<sup>2</sup> *D* submouentur *Eβ* | non —12 facultas *del Paul* ||  
 12 defendundi *L'* -dendi *D' T'* | Cōplurib' *E* complurib; *L* cūpluribus  
*D U' T'* | illa] ea *E* || 13 subductis *om U'* || 14 concidit<sup>2</sup> *U'* || 15 infulis  
*EU'*, *D corr* -lsis *DLT'* || 16 atq. *β* ad *D'*

12, 2 ad *β*, *om D'* || 5 captant *T'* || 6 turrim *T'* || 8 facerent *D' L*  
 -ret *U' T'* || 9 posse *D'* -et *β* || 10 quin *EL' T* qui in *D V* | spe *L'*  
 (*F post urbē*) *U<sup>2</sup> mg* se *D' T'* | inrumperent *DL' irrū-* *ET'*

13, 1 deducunt *D'* did- *β* || 2 oppugnatione *D' LV* obp- *U'*  
 op- *T* | opis *T'* | relinquunt *F pr T* -quunt *D' LUV* || 3 indutiarū *DT*  
 induciarum *EL' V* | misericordia *β* -ie *D'* || 8 contēptione *E corr* : con-  
 tentione || 10 <in> *Baumstark*

inrumperent, grauiterque eam rem tulerunt, quod stetisse per Trebonium, quominus oppido potirentur, uidebatur.

1       **14.** At hostes sine fide tempus atque occasionem fraudis  
 ac doli quaerunt interiectisque aliquot diebus, nostris lan-  
 guentibus atque animo remissis, subito meridiano tempore,  
 cum alius discessisset, alius ex diutino labore in ipsis operi-  
 bus quieti se dedisset, arma uero omnia reposita contactaque 5  
 essent, portis [se] foras <e>rumpunt, secundo magnoque uento  
 2 ignem operibus inferunt. hunc sic distulit uentus, uti uno  
 tempore agger, plutei, testudo, turris, tormenta flammam con-  
 ciperent et prius haec omnia consumerentur, quam quemad-  
 3 modum accidisset, animaduerti posset. nostri repentina For- 10  
 tuna permoti arma, quae possunt, arripiunt, alii ex castris  
 sese incitant. fit in hosteis impetus eorum, sed <de> muro  
 4 sagittis tormentisque fugientes persequi prohibentur. illi sub  
 murum se recipiunt ibique musculum turrinque latericiam  
 libere incendunt. ita multorum mensum labor hostium per- 15  
 5 fidia et ui tempestatis puncto temporis interiit. temptauerunt  
 hoc idem Massilienses postero die. eandem nacti tempestatem  
 maiore cum fiducia ad alteram turrem aggeremque eruptione  
 6 pugnauerunt multumque ignem intulerunt. sed ut superioris  
 temporis contentionem nostri omnem remiserant, ita proximi 20  
 diei casu admoniti omnia ad defensionem parauerant. itaque  
 multis interfectis reliquos infecta re in oppidum reppulerunt.

1       **15.** Trebonius ea, quae sunt amissa, multo maiore mili-  
 tum studio administrare et reficere instituit. nam ubi tantos  
 suos labores et apparatus male cecidisse uiderunt indutiisque  
 per scelus uiolatis suam uirtutem irrisui fore perdoluerunt,  
 quod, unde agger omnino conportari posset, nihil erat reli- 5  
 quum, omnibus arboribus longe lateque in finibus Massilien-

11 inrumperent *DL'* irrūp- *ET'* || 12 uidebant<sup>2</sup> *T'*

**14, 2** aliquod *D* || 5 quieti se *L'* se quieti *E* quieti *DT'* || 6 foras  
 erumpunt *Estienne* : se (ser *D* sé *F*) foras rum(run *F*)punt ||  
 8 flammā (flamam *D*) *D'LT'* flāmā *U'* || 12 hostes *D'UV* -is *LFT* |  
 <de> *Hoffmann* || 15 mensum *DL'* -sium *ET'L*<sup>2</sup> || 18 maiore *T'*  
 maiora *D* maiori *EL*<sup>2</sup> maiora *D a. ras.?* *L'* | turrin *T'* | eruptione  
*L'V* -nē *D'Tpr* || 19 superiore tempore *Chacon* || 20 contentionē  
*T'E*<sup>2</sup>*L*<sup>2</sup> -temptionē *D'L'* || 22 infecta β interfecta *D* impfecta *E*

**15, 4** irrisui *D'T'* in- *L'* || 5 conportari *DL* comp- *EU'T'*



sium excisis et conuectis, aggerem noui generis atque inau-  
ditum ex latericiis duobus muris senum pedum crassitudine  
atque eorum murorum contignatione[m] facere instituerunt  
aequa fere latitudine, atque ille congesticius ex materia fuerat 10  
2 agger. ubi aut spatium inter muros aut inbecillitas materiae  
postulare uideretur, pilae interponuntur, trauersaria tigna ini-  
ciuntur, quae firmamento esse possint, et quicquid est con-  
3 tignatum, cratibus consternitur, crates luto integuntur. sub  
tecto miles dextra ac sinistra muro tectus, aduersus plutei 15  
obiectu, operi quaecumque sunt usui, sine periculo subportat.  
4 celeriter res administratur; diuturni laboris detrimentum sol-  
lertia et uirtute militum breui reconciliatur. portae, quibus  
locis uidetur, eruptionis causa in muro relinquuntur.

1 16. Quod ubi hostes uiderunt, ea, quae diu longoque  
spatio refici non posse sperassent, paucorum dierum opera et  
labore ita refecta, ut null[i]us perfidiae neque eruptioni locus  
esset neque quicquam omnino relinqueretur, qua au te(1)is  
2 militibus aut igni operibus nocere posset, eodemque exemplo 5  
sentiant totam urbem, qua sit aditus ab terra, muro turribus-  
que circum <mun>iri posse, sic ut ipsis consistendi in suis  
munitionibus locus non esset, cum paene inaedificata in muris  
ab exercitu nostro moenia uiderentur ac telum manu coiceretur,  
3 suorumque tormentorum usum, quibus ipsi magna sperauis- 10  
sent, spatii propinquitate interire parique conditione ex muro  
ac turribus bellandi data se uirtute nostris adaequare non  
posse intellegunt, ad easdem deditiois conditiones recurrunt.

9 contignatione *Nipperdey* : contignationē || 10 aequa *D' U' L<sup>2</sup>* aeq;  
(eqs *T*) *L<sup>1</sup> T'* || 11 materiae β -ia *D* -iā *E* || 13 et *L'* ut *T'* at *D'* ||  
14 luto *T'* luto q̄ *D* lutoq; *E<sup>2</sup> L'* || 15 texto et textus *L'* || 16 obiectu  
*Aldo* : obiecto | subportat *DT* supp- *EL' V* || 17 ce(Cae *L*)leriter β  
ce| *D* Ce| *E* | detrimto *U'* || 18 portae (-te *L*) β postea *D'* || 19 relinquunt<sup>2</sup>  
*D* -quunt<sup>2</sup> *Eβ*

16, 1 hostis *L<sup>1</sup>* || 3 nullus *cod Dresd. 83* : nullius || 4 neque *D' L'*  
nec *T'* | aut telis *Forchhammer* aut vis *L<sup>2</sup>* : aut eis || 5 ignis *L<sup>2</sup>* |  
noceri<sup>e</sup> *L* : noceri | posset *LU' T'*, *V corr* possit *D' V pr* || 7 q. β,  
*om D'* | muniri *Aicard* : iri || 8 inae(in e- *V*)dificata β aedificata  
*D'* || 9 telum β tela *D'* | coiceretur *L' T*, *V corr* coi(coni *E*)cerentur  
*D' V pr* || 10 usū *ET' L<sup>2</sup>* usu *DL'* | superauissent *L* || 11 spatii prop-  
inquitate *Held* : spatio (-cio *D* -cii *V*) propinquitatis || 13 intellegunt  
*D'* -igunt β



1 17. M. Varro in ulteriore Hispania initio cognitis [h]is  
 2 rebus, quae sunt in Italia gestae, diffidens Pompeianis rebus  
 3 amicissime de Caesare loquebatur: pr<a>occupatum sese le-  
 4 gatione ab Cn. Pompeio, teneri obstrictum fide; necessitu-  
 5 dinem quidem sibi nihilo minorem cum Caesare intercedere,  
 6 neque se ignorare, quod esset officium legati, qui fiduciarium  
 7 operam optineret, quae uires suae, quae uoluntas erga Caesa-  
 8 rem totius prouinciae. haec omnibus ferebat sermonibus  
 9 neque se in ullam partem mouebat. postea uero cum Cae-  
 10 sare ad Massiliam detineri cognouit, copias Petrei cum  
 11 exercitu Afrani esse coniunctas, magna auxilia conuenisse,  
 12 magna esse in spe atque expectari et consentire omnem  
 13 citiorem prouinciam, quaeque postea acciderant de angustiis  
 14 ad Ilerdam rei frumentariae accepit, atque haec ad eum latius  
 15 atque inflatus Afranius perscribat, se quoque ad motus  
 16 Fortunae mouere coepit.

1 18. Dilectum habuit tota prouincia, legionibus completis  
 2 duabus cohortes circiter xxx alarias addidit. frumenti magnum  
 3 numerum coegit, quod Massiliensibus, item quod Afranio  
 4 Petreioque mitteret. naues longas x Gaditanis ut facerent  
 5 imperauit, complures praeterea [in] Hispali faciendas curauit.  
 6 pecuniam omnem omniaque ornamenta ex fano Herculis in  
 7 oppidum Gadeis contulit; eo sex cohortes praesidii causa ex  
 8 prouincia misit Gaiumque Gallonium eq(uitem) R(omanum)  
 9 familiarem Domitii, qui eo procurandae hereditatis causa  
 10 uenerat missus a Domitio, oppido Gadibus praefecit; arma  
 11 omnia priuata ac publica in domum Galloni contulit. ipse  
 12 habuit graues in Caesarem contiones. saepe ex tribunali  
 13 pr<a>edicauit aduersa Caesarem proelia fecisse, magnum nu-

17, 1 is : his (hys T) || 2 gestae (-te V)  $\beta$  -ta  $D'$  || 4 teneri  
 $D' L' T'$  -re V | -cessitudinem —6 ignorare om L || 5 minorē EU'  
 minorum DT' || 7 optineret  $D'$  obt-  $\beta$  || 8 omnib. ferebat sermonibus  $\beta$   
 sermonib. omib. ferebat (ref- E)  $D'$  || 9 ullam LFT' nullā  $D' U'$  |  
 cum] quam Markland || 10 detinere D -ri E $\beta$  | petrei DL' -reii ET' ||  
 11 afrani L' af(aff- V)ranii  $D' T'$  || 12 expectari  $D' LUT'$  -re F ||  
 13 citiorem  $\beta$  uteriorē D ult- E || 15 pscribat  $D'$  prae (pre L  
 p UT') scr-  $\beta$  | motus  $\beta$  -tū  $D'$

18, 1 completis D cōpl- E $\beta$  || 2 frumenti —4 mitteret om E ||  
 4 petreio r : pompeio || 5 cōplures  $D' U'$  comp- L cūp- T' | in del  
 Manuzio || 7 gades  $\beta$  -dis  $D'$  | eo sex (eos ex L'  $\beta$  eo &  $D'$

merum ab eo militum ad Afranium perfugisse; haec se certis  
 4 nuntiis, certis auctoribus comperisse. quibus rebus perterritos 15  
 ciu(eis) Rom(anos) eius prouinciae sibi ad rem p(ublicam) ad-  
 ministrandam IS CLXXX et argenti p(ondo) XX mil(ia), tritici  
 5 modium CXX mil(ia) polliceri coegit. quas Caesari esse amicas  
 ciuitates arbitratur, his grauiora onera iniungebat prae-  
 sidiaque eo deducebat et iudicia in priuatos reddebat; qui<sup>20</sup>  
 uerba atque orationem aduersus rem p(ublicam) habuissent,  
 eorum bona in publicum addicebat. prouinciam omnem in  
 6 sua et Pompei uerba ius iurandum adigebat. cognitis [h]is  
 rebus, quae sunt gestae in citeriore Hispania, bellum parabat.  
 ratio autem haec erat belli, ut se cum II leg(ionibus) Gadeis 25  
 conferret, naues frumentumque omne ibi contineret; pro-  
 uinciam enim omnem Caesaris rebus fauere cognouerat. in  
 insula frumento nauibusque comparatis bellum duci non dif-  
 7 ficile existimabat. Caesar etsi multis necessariisque rebus  
 in Italia(m) reuocabatur, tamen constituerat nullam partem 30  
 belli in Hispaniis relinquere, quod magna esse Pompei bene-  
 ficia et magnas clientelas in citeriore prouincia sciebat.

1 19. Itaque duabus legionibus missis in ulteriorem Hispan-  
 niam cum Q. Cassio, tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), ipse cum DC equitibus  
 magnis itineribus pr(a)egreditur edictumque pr(a)emittit, ad  
 quam diem magistratus principesque omnium ciuitatum sibi  
 2 esse praesto Cordubae uellet. quo edicto tota prouincia per- 5  
 uulgato nulla fuit ciuitas, quin ad id tempus partem senatus  
 Cordubam mitteret, non ciuis R(omanus) paulo notior, quin  
 3 ad diem conueniret. simul ipse Cordubae conuentus per se  
 portas Varroni clausit, custodias uigiliasque in turribus muro-  
 que disposuit, cohorteis duas, quae colonicae appellabantur, 10

14 se certis *ET'* se|cretis *D* secre(-e *F*)tis *L'* || 15 pterritos *L*<sup>2</sup>: pter-  
 ritus *D'L'V* p̄ritus *T* || 16 ciū *DL*<sup>1</sup> ciues *EL*<sup>2</sup> ciuis *T* cui (cīui<sup>U</sup>) *U'*  
 ci<sup>v</sup> in ras *V* || 17 HS *Aldus* : ch *D'L'* .ch. *T* .c.H. *V* | cl (.d. *D*)  
 xxx *D'U'T'* cLxxxx *L* || 18 modium *Hotman* : modios | cesaris *T'* ||  
 19 praesidia —23 reddebat *om L* || 25 autem haec (hec *L*) *D'L'* enī  
 hęc *V* hęc enim *T* | legis *D* legiones *E* legionib; (legib; *V*<sup>1</sup>) β |  
 gadis *D'β* gades *L*<sup>2</sup> || 27 -re —19, 9 custodias *def D* || 18, 30 italiā  
*L*<sup>2</sup> -lia *Eβ* || 31 hispaniis *E* hispaniis *T'* hispanis *L'*

19, 2 cum *om T'* || 4 ciuitatū *V* || 7 Cordubam <sup>o</sup>*r* : cordubae  
 (-be *L*) *Eβ* || 10 cohortes *D'V* -tis *LFT* C(ū) hortis *U*

cum eo casu uenissent, tuendi oppidi causa apud se retinuit.  
 4 isdem diebus Carmonenses, quae est longe firmissima totius  
 prouinciae ciuitas, deductis tribus in arcem oppidi cohortibus  
 a Varrone praesidio, per se cohortes eiecit portasque pr(a)e-  
 clusit.

15

1       **20.** Hoc uero magis properare Varro, ut cum legionibus  
 quam primum Gadis contenderet, ne itinere aut traiectu inter-  
 cluderetur; tanta ac tam secunda in Caesarem uoluntas pro-  
 2 uinciae reperiatur. progresso ei paulo longius litterae  
 Gadibus redduntur, simul atque sit cognitum de edicto Cae- 5  
 saris, consensisse Gaditanos principes cum tribunis cohortium,  
 quae essent ibi in praesidio, ut Gallonium ex oppido expel-  
 3 lerent, urbem insulamque Caesari seruarent. hoc inito con-  
 silio denuntiauisse Gallonio, ut sua sponte, dum sine periculo  
 liceret, excederet Gadibus; si id non fecisset, <s>ibi consilium 10  
 capturos. hoc timore adductum Gallonium Gadibus excessisse.  
 4 his cognitis rebus altera ex duabus legionibus, quae uerna-  
 cula appellabatur, ex castris Varronis adstante et inspectante  
 ipso signa sustulit seseque Hispali recepit atque in foro et  
 5 porticibus sine maleficio consedit. quod factum adeo eius 15  
 conuentus ciues R(omani) comprobauerunt, ut domum ad se  
 6 quisque hospitio cupidissime reciperet. quibus rebus per-  
 territus Varro, cum itinere conuerso sese Itali<c>am uenturum  
 praemisisset, certior ab suis factus est pr(a)eclusas esse por-  
 7 tas. tum uero omni interclusus itinere ad Caesarem mittit 20  
 paratum se esse legionem, cui iusserit, tradere. ille ad eum  
 8 Sextum Caesarem mittit atque huic tradi iubet. tradita  
 legione Varro Cordubam ad Caesarem uenit; relatis ad eum

12 is(lis E)dem D' L' hisdem T' || 13 oppidi D' L', om T' ||  
 14 eiecit cod Dresd. 83 et Dresd. 122 man. 2. : iniecit

20, 3 ac tam β atia D autē ED<sup>2</sup> || 4 reperiatur EL' re-  
 periebat<sup>2</sup> D repperiatur T' || 5 sit (sic D<sup>pr</sup>) D' L'] fit T' || 7 eēt V,  
 T corr eēt D' L' T' pr eē L<sup>2</sup> || 8 cae(ce- U)sari D' L U T, V corr cae-  
 saris F pr V pr || 10 excederet] excedere et U' | sibi E corr L<sup>2</sup> : ibi ||  
 11 timore β itinere D' || 13 adstante β asstante D astante E ||  
 14 ipse T' || 15 factus L' || 16 comprobauerunt] cūpbauer<sup>2</sup> U' ||  
 18 Italicam Müller-Rhellican : italiam || 19 praemisisset Chacon : pro-  
 misisset (promississe L<sup>1</sup>) || 21 se] sese V, T corr | cui iusserit  
 D' U' L<sup>2</sup> cuius|serit L cui erit T cui, erit V



publicis cum fide rationibus, quod penes eum est pecuniae, tradit et, quid ubique habeat frumenti ac nauium, ostendit. 25

1      21. Caesar contione habita Cordubae omnibus generatim  
gratias agit: ciuibus R(omanis), quod oppidum in sua pote-  
state studuissent habere, Hispanis, quod pr<a>esidia expulissent,  
Gaditanis, quod conatus aduersariorum infregissent seseque in  
libertatem uindicauissent, tr(ibunis) mil(itum) centurionibus- 5  
que, qui eo pr<a>esidii causa uenerant, quod eorum consilia  
2 sua uirtute confirmauissent. pecunias, quas erant in publi-  
cum Varroni ciu(es) R(omani) polliciti, remittit; bona restituit  
is, quos liberius locutos hanc poenam tulisse cognouerat.  
3 tributis quibusdam publicis priuatisque pr<a>emiis reliquos 10  
in posterum bona spe complet biduumque Cordubae com-  
moratus Gadis proficiscitur; pecunias monumentaque, quae ex  
fano Herculis conlata erant in priuatam domum, referri in  
4 templum iubet. prouinciae Q. Cassium pr<a>eficit; huic III  
legiones adtribuit. ipse [h]is nauibus, quas M. Varro quas- 15  
que Gaditani iussu Varronis fecerant, Tarraconem paucis die-  
bus peruenit. ibi totius fere citerioris prouinciae legationes  
5 Caesaris aduentum expectabant. eadem ratione priuatim ac  
publice quibusdam ciuitatibus habitis honoribus Tarracone  
discedit pedibusque Narbonem atque inde Massiliam peruenit. 20  
ibi legem de dict(atore) latam seseque dictatorem dictum a  
M. Lepido pr(aetore) cognoscit.

1      22. Massilienses omnibus defessi malis, rei frumentariae  
ad summam inopiam adducti, bis proelio nauali superati,  
crebris eruptionibus fusi, graui etiam pestilentia conflictati  
ex diutina conclusione et mutatione uictus (panico enim uetere

25 ac] & T'

21, 2 agit] agi. c. T' || 3 hispanis (-niis T') β hispalis D' ||  
4 q; in L' q, T' in D' || 5 uindicassent et 7 confirmassent T' ||  
8 ciū (cium L<sup>1</sup>) L'T tiū D tus E ciuis<sup>o</sup> V | polliciti D<sup>1</sup>U' T' -ta L -tus  
ED<sup>2</sup> | remittit D'L' -tti T' || 9 is DL' eis ED<sup>2</sup> his T' | hanc β  
ac D' | poenā DL' pe- ET' || 10 publicis D'T'L<sup>2</sup> populis L' ||  
12 monu<sup>m</sup>ta D' monim- β || 13 conlata DL' coll- ET' || 15 adtribuit  
DL' att- ET' || 16 tarraconā T' || 19 quibusdā D'T quib; quae  
(que- V)dam L' V || 21 dictatore D'L' dictionis T'

22, 1 massilienses D' Masilienses L Massiliensibus U'T' | de-  
fessi D'U'L<sup>2</sup>V p. ras defessis L<sup>1</sup>T' || 2 p̄(proe- F)lio nauali DL'  
nauali p̄lio ET'

atque hordeo corrupto omnes alebantur, quod ad huius modi 5  
 casus antiquitus paratum in publicum contulerant) deiecta  
 turri, labefacta magna parte muri, auxiliis prouinciarum et  
 exercituum desperatis, quos in Caesaris potestatem uenisse  
 2 cognouerant, sese dedere sine fraude constituunt. sed paucis  
 ante diebus L. Domitius cognita Massiliensium uoluntate 10  
 nauibus III comparatis, ex quibus duas familiaribus suis ad-  
 tribuerat, unam ipse conscenderat, nactus turbidam tempe-  
 3 statem profectus est. hunc conspicatae naues, quae missu  
 Bruti consuetudine cotidiana ad portum excubabant, sublatis  
 4 anchoris sequi coeperunt. ex his unum ipsius nauigium con- 15  
 tendit et fugere perseuerauit auxilioque tempestatis ex con-  
 spectu abiit, duo perterrita concursu nostrarum nauium sese  
 5 in portum receperunt. Massilienses arma tormentaue ex  
 oppido, ut est imperatum, proferunt, naueis ex portu nauali-  
 6 busque educunt, pecuniam ex publico tradunt. quibus rebus 20  
 confectis Caesar magis eos pro nomine et uetustate quam  
 pro meritis in se ciuitatis conseruans duas ibi legiones pr<a>e-  
 sidio relinquit, ceteras in Italiam mittit; ipse ad urbem pro-  
 ficiscitur.

1 **23.** Isdem temporibus C. Curio in Africam profectus ex  
 Sicilia et iam ab initio copias P. Atti Vari despiciens duas  
 legiones ex III, quas a Caesare acceperat, D equites transpor-  
 tabat biduoque et noctibus tribus nauigatione consumptis ap-  
 2 pellit ad eum locum, qui appellatur Anquillaria. hic locus 5  
 abest a Clupeis pass(um)  $\overline{\text{xxii}}$  habetque non incommodam  
 aestate stationem et duobus eminentibus promunturiis conti-  
 3 netur. huius aduentum L. Caesar fil(ius) cum X longis na-  
 uibus ad Clupea pr<a>estolans, quas naueis Vticae ex pr<a>e-

5 ad om U' || 10 massiliensibus T' || 11 duas D' T' L<sup>2</sup> duabus L' |  
 adtribuerat DL' att- ET' || 13 profectus est D' T' ē pro-  
 fectus L profectus U' | missu β iussu D' || 15 coeperunt \*\*\* Basiner ||  
 16 tempestatis om T' || 17 abiit D' V abit L' T' | c̄cursu tēpestatis V ||  
 19 naues D' UV<sup>2</sup> -uis LFT' || 20 pecuniam D' T' L<sup>2</sup> -nia L' ||  
 23 reliquit (-id V) T'

**23,** 1 Isdem β hisdē D' || 2 uari EL' uarri DT' || 3 quas a  
 cae(-L)sare acceperat D' L' acceperat quas a cesare T' || 4 ap-  
 pellit D' adp- β || 6 lupeis E | incōmodā E incommoda Dβ ||  
 7 duob. β duab. D' || 9 clupea L<sup>2</sup> clipea L' V clippea D' clippeā T' |  
 p̄stolans (presto laus F) β p̄stolantib. D' | naues D' V<sup>2</sup> -uis β

donum bello subductas P. Attius reficiendas huius belli causa 10  
 curauerat, ueritus[q.] nauium multitudinem ex alto refugerat,  
 adpulsaque ad proximum litus trireme constrata et in litore  
 4 relictā pedibus Hadrumetum profugerat. id oppidum C. Con-  
 sidius Longus unius legionis praesidio tuebatur. reliquae  
 5 Caesaris naues eius fuga se Hadrumetum receperunt. hunc 15  
 secutus Marc(i)us Rufus quaestor nauibus XII, quas pr(a)e-  
 sidio onerariis nauibus Curio ex Sicilia eduxerat, postquam  
 in litore relictam nauem conspexit, hanc remulco abstraxit;  
 ipse ad C. Curionem cum classe redit.

1 **24.** Curio Marcium Vticam nauibus pr(a)emittit; ipse  
 eodem cum exercitu proficiscitur biduique iter progressus ad  
 2 flumen Bagradam peruenit. ibi C. Caninium Rebilum leg(a-  
 tum) cum legionibus reliquit; ipse cum equitatu ante cedit  
 ad Castra exploranda Cornelia, quod is locus peridoneus castris 5  
 3 habebatur. id autem est iugum directum eminens in mare,  
 utraque ex parte pr(a)eruptum atque asperum, sed tamen  
 paulo leniore fastigio ab ea parte, quae ad Vticam uergit.  
 4 abest directo itinere ab Vtica paulo amplius pass(us) mil(le).  
 sed hoc itinere est fons, quo[d] mare succedit longius, late- 10  
 que is locus restagnat; quem siqui uitare uoluerit, sex milium  
 circuitu in oppidum peruenit.

1 **25.** Hoc explorato loco Curio castra Vari conspiciunt muro  
 oppidoque coniuncta ad portam, quae appellatur bellica, am-  
 modum munita natura loci, una ex parte ipso oppido Vtica,  
 altera a theatro, quod est ante oppidum, substructionibus eius

11 q. *del Vascosan* | refuge (refue- L<sup>1</sup>)rat **D'LT'** -ret **U'** || 12 et  $\beta$ ,  
 om **D'** | litore **D'U'** littore **LT'** || 13 et 15 hadrumetū **D<sup>1</sup>L'** adru-  
 metū **T'** | 13 pfugerat **V** profu<sup>9</sup>erat **L** pfugerat **D'UT** || 16 Marcus  
*Nipperdey* : .m. (ante lacunam 7 litt. **V**) | rufus **D'T** rufus **L'V** ||  
 17 honerariis **T'** || 18 littore **T'** | remulco **r** : remu(remi- **T**)lgo

**24**, 1 marcium **L'** -tium **D'T'** || 2 bidui] tridui *Stoffel* ||  
 4 reliquid **T'** || 5 cornelia **L** corneliana **D'U'** cani(cain- **T**)diana  
**T'** | is] his **T'** || 6 directum  $\beta$  dir- **D'**, **L<sup>2</sup>V** corr || 8 leniore **T'** ||  
 9 abest — mille om **D'** || 10 quo **L<sup>2</sup>** : quod **D'LT'** q<sup>1</sup>a **V** || 11 siqui  
**D'U'** si **L** sibi **T'** | uoluerit **D'** uoluer<sup>2</sup> (-runt **L**) $\beta$  || 12 circuitū **T'** |  
 pueniunt **L'**

**25**, 1 uari **D'FL**, **T** p. ras uari **UT'** || 2 Belica *Hartz* ||  
 ammodū **D** admodum **E $\beta$**  || 4 substructionibus **r** : substructionib;  
**DUV** subtractionib. **EL** subtractionib; **T**



2 operis maximis, aditu ad castra difficili et angusto. simul 5  
 animaduertit multa undique portari atque agi plenissimis uiiis,  
 quae repentini tumultus timore ex agris in urbem conferantur.  
 3 huc equitatum mittit, ut diriperet atque haberet loco pr<a>e-  
 dae; eodemque tempore his rebus subsidio DC equites Numi-  
 dae ex oppido peditesque cccc mittuntur a Varo, quos auxili 10  
 4 causa rex Iuba paucis diebus ante Vticam miserat. huic et  
 paternum hospitium cum Pompeio et simultas cum Curione  
 intercedebat, quod tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) legem promulgauerat,  
 5 qua lege regnum Iubae publicauerat. concurrunt equites inter  
 se; neque uero primum impetum nostrorum Numidae ferre 15  
 potuerunt, sed interfectis circiter CXX reliqui se in castra ad  
 6 oppidum receperunt. interim aduentu longarum nauium Curio  
 pronuntiarei onerariis nauibus iubet, quae stabant ad Vticam  
 numero circiter CC, se in hostium habiturum loco, qui non  
 7 ex uestigio ad Castra Cornelia naues traduxisset. qua pro- 20  
 nuntiatione facta temporis puncto sublatis anchoris omnes  
 Vticam relinquunt et, quo imperatum est, transeunt. quae  
 res omnium rerum copia compleuit exercitum.

1       **26.** His rebus gestis Curio se in castra ad Bagradam  
 recipit atque uniuersi exercitus conclamatione imperator ap-  
 pellatur posteroque die Vticam exercitum ducit et prope op-  
 2 pidum castra ponit. nondum opere castrorum perfecto equites  
 ex statione nuntiant magna auxilia equitum peditumque ab 5  
 rege missa Vticam uenire; eodemque tempore uis magna pul-  
 ueris cernebatur, et uestigio temporis primum agmen erat in  
 3 conspectu. nouitate rei Curio permotus pr<a>emittit equites,  
 qui primum impetum sustineant ac morentur; ipse celeriter  
 4 ab opere deductis legionibus aciem instruit. equites[que] com- 10  
 mittunt proelium et, priusquam plane legiones explicarei et  
 consistere possent, tota auxilia regis impedita ac perturbata,

7 conferebātur r || 9 numidę D' -de L -die (-die F) U' T' ||  
 10 a β, om D' | uarro T' | auxili V -lii D' L' T' || 12 cum (ante Cur.) L' T',  
 om D' V curione β curionis D' || 13 promulgauerat β pmulgarat D' |  
 18 pnuntiare r : pnunt(-c- UV)iare || 20 na uestra (ūra E) duxisset D'  
 nauela duxisset L' na traduxisset T' || 22 reliquerunt T'

**26,** 2 recipit U' T' -cepit D' L || 3 Vticam exercitum] exercitū  
 uticā T' || 6 regi F || 10 que del Chacon || 11 explicari et β explicaret  
 ut D'

quod nullo ordine et sine timore iter fecerant, in fugam [se] coiciunt equitatuque omni fere incolumi, quod se per litora celeriter in oppidum recipit, magnum peditum numerum 15 interficiunt.

1        27. Proxima nocte centuriones Marsi duo ex castris  
Curionis cum manipularibus suis XXII ad Attium Varum per-  
2 fugiunt. hi siue uere quam habuerant opinionem ad eum  
perferunt, siue etiam auribus Vari seruiunt (nam quae uolu-  
mus, ea credimus libenter, et quae sentimus ipsi, reliquos 5  
sentire speramus) confirmant quidem certe totius exercitus  
animos alienos esse a Curione maximeque opus esse in con-  
spectu<m> exercitum uenire et conloquendi dare facultatem.  
3 qua opinione adductus Varus postero die mane legiones ex  
castris educit. facit idem Curio, atque una ualle non magna 10  
interiecta suas uterque copias instruit.

1        28. Erat in exercitu Vari Sext(us) Quintilius Varus, quem  
fuisse Corfini supra demonstratum est. hic dimissus a Cae-  
sare in Africam uenerat, legionesque eas transduxerat <Curio>,  
quas [Curio] superioribus temporibus Corfinio receperat Caesar,  
adeo ut paucis mutatis centurionibus idem ordines manipuli- 5  
2 que constarent. hanc nactus appellationis causam Quintilius  
circumire aciem Curionis atque obsecrare milites coepit, ne  
primam sacramenti, quod apud Domitium atque apud se  
quaestorem dixissent, memoriam deponerent neu contra eos  
arma ferrent, qui eadem essent usi Fortuna eademque in ob- 10  
sidione perpassi, neu pro his pugnarent, a quibus <cum> con-  
3 tumelia perfugae appellarentur. huc pauca ad spem largitionis

14 se *del Elberling* | se coic(coit *D* conic *EL*<sup>2</sup>)iunt *D' L'* coitiunt  
se *T'* | incolomi *D' U'* incolomi *LT'* | se p *D' LUV* sep *F* semp *T* ||  
15 littora (littera *T pr*) *T'* | recipit *UT'* rece- *D' LF*

27, 1 duo  $\beta$  dio *D'* || 2 curionis *LV* centurionis *U' T* centū rī *D*  
centumerī *E* | uarū *D' U' T* uar[r]ū *V* uarium *L* || 5 ea *Paul* : et ||  
6 quidā *T'* || 7 conspectum *cod Leid. 38* : conspectu || 8 exercitum  
*Dβ*, *om E*, *add E mg* | et *om T'* | conloquendi *DL'* coll- *ET'* ||  
9 postero *D'* -ra  $\beta$  || 11 suas —28, 1 Varus *om D'*

28, 3—4 Curio, quas *Aldo* : quas (quos *T*) curio  $\beta$  quas *D'* ||  
5 adeo  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 6 nact' *D* nactus *Eβ* || 7 circuire *T'* || 8 primā  
*LF* prima *D' UT'* || 9 memoriam  $\beta$  memoria *D'*, *V p. ras* || 11 <cum>  
*Nipperdey* | contumelia  $\beta$  c̄tumeliā *D* ad contumeliā *E*

addidit, quae ab sua liberalitate, si se atque Attium secuti  
 4 essent, expectare deberent. hac habita oratione nullam in  
 partem ab exercitu Curionis fit significatio, atque ita suas 15  
 uterque copias reducit.

1     **29.** Atque in castris Curionis magnus omnium incessit  
 timor <a>nim<is>; is uariis hominum sermonibus celeriter  
 augetur. unusquisque enim opinioniones fingeat et ad id, quod  
 2 ab alio audierat, sui aliquid timoris addebat. hoc ubi uno  
 auctore ad plures permanuerat atque alius alii tradiderat, 5  
 3 plures auctores eius rei uidebantur. ciuile bellum; genus  
 hominum, quo<i i>d liceret libere facere et sequi quod uellet;  
 legiones hae, quae paulo ante apud aduersarios fuerant. nam  
 etiam Caesaris beneficium mutauerat consuetudo, qua offer-  
 rentur <munera>, municipia etiam diuersis partibus coniuncta. 10  
 aequae enim ex Marsis Paelignisque ueniebant; <m>u<l>ti de  
 superiore nocte in contuberniis commenteique nonnulli gra-  
 4 uiora sermones militum; dubia durius accipiebantur, non-  
 nulla etiam ab [h]is, qui diligentiores uideri uolebant, fin-  
 gebantur. 15

1     **30.** Quibus de causis consilio conuocato de summa rerum  
 2 deliberare incipit. erant sententiae, quae conandum omnibus  
 modis castraque Vari oppugnanda censerent, quod huius modi  
 militum consiliis otium maxime contrarium esse arbitrarentur;  
 postremo praestare dicebant, per uirtutem in pugna belli 5  
 fortunam experiri, quam desertos et circum uentos ab suis  
 3 grauissimum supplicium perpeti. erant, qui censerent de  
 tertia uigilia in Castra Cornelia recedendum, ut maiore spatio  
 temporis interiecto militum mentes sanarentur, simul, siquid

13 attium  $\beta$  atiū  $D^1$  aciē  $E$  atiē  $D^2$

**29, 1** Atque] At *Manuzio* || 2 animis *Vossius* : nam | is  $L$ ,  $E$   $p$ .  
*ras V p. ras* iis  $D' U'$  his  $T'$  | uariis  $DL'$ ,  $E$  *corr* uarus  $E$  *pr*  $T'$  ||  
 4 addebat  $\beta$  augebat  $D'$  || 5 alius  $D' UT'$  aliis  $F$  illi $\phi$ s  $L$  || 7 cui id  
*Vossius* : quod ( $q_a$   $V$ ) | liceret  $L'$  -re  $D' T'$  | libare  $V$  | sequi quod  
 uellet  $L'$  sequi  $q_d$  ut (uel  $E$ )  $D' T'$  se quicqd ut le  $V$  ( $\bar{q}$   $D$  *marg*) ||  
 10 <munera> *Oehler* || 11 aequae *Nipperdey* : neq. | ue(ui-  $F$ )niebant  $\beta$   
 ueniebat  $D'$  | multi de *Buecheler* : ut qui || 12 commenti *Buecheler* :  
 con( $DL'$   $\bar{c}V$   $c\bar{o}$   $ET$ )milites || 13 Nonnulla  $E$  non nulli  $D\beta$

**30, 4** militum consiliis otium  $\beta$  consiliū militū sot(soc-  $E$ )ium  $D'$  ||  
 7  $p$ peti. Erant  $T'$  pati proiecerant  $D' L'$  pati|porro erant  $L^2 U^2$



gravius accidisset, magna multitudine nauium et tutius et 10  
facilius in Siciliam receptus daretur.

1       **31.** Curio utrumque inprobans consilium, quantum alteri  
sententiae deesset animi, tantum alteri superesse dicebat; hos  
turpissimae fugae rationem habere, illos etiam iniquo loco  
2 dimicandum putare. 'qua enim' inquit 'fiducia et opere et  
natura loci munitissima castra expugnare<sup>i</sup> posse confidimus? 5  
3 aut uero quid proficimus, si accepto magno detrimento ab  
oppugnatione castrorum discedimus? quasi non felicitas rerum  
gestarum exercitus benevolentiam imperatoribus et res ad-  
4 uersae odia concilient! castrorum autem mutatio quid habet  
nisi turpem fugam et desperationem omnium et alienationem 10  
exercitus? nam neque p[r]udenteis suspicari oportet sibi  
parum crede<sup>i</sup> neque improbos scire sese timere<sup>i</sup>, quod illis  
5 licentiam timor augeat noster, his studia deminuat. quod  
si iam' inquit 'haec explorata habeamus, quae de exer-  
citus alienatione dicuntur, quae quidem ego aut omnino falsa 15  
aut certe minora opinione esse confido, quanto haec dissi-  
6 mulare<sup>i</sup> et occultare<sup>i</sup>, quam per nos confirmari praestet? an  
non, uti corporis uulnera, ita exercitus incommoda sunt te-  
7 genda, ne spem aduersariis augeamus? a[u]t etiam, ut media  
nocte proficiscamur, addunt, quo maiorem, credo, licentiam 20  
habeant, qui peccare conentur. namque huius modi res aut  
pudore aut metu tenentur: quibus rebus nox maxime aduer-  
8 saria est. quare neque tanti sum animi, ut sine spe castra ob-  
pugnanda censeam, neque tanti timoris, ut ipse deficiam, atque  
omnia prius experienda arbitror magnaue ex parte iam me 25  
una uobiscum de re iudicium facturum confido.'

10 tutius (tuci' *U*) *U' T' L*<sup>2</sup> totius *DL*<sup>1</sup> o<sup>c(1)</sup>tius (post 5 litteras erasas) *E*

**31**, 1 alteri *om T'* || 3 iniquo  $\beta$  ilico *D'* || 4 inquit *D' LU*  
-d *FT'* || 5 expugnare *L -ri D' U' T'* || 6 uero  $\beta$  uos *D* nos *E* || 7 non  
*D' LF* non et (&  $\equiv \bar{n} V$ ) *UT'* || 8 benevolentia (-cia *L*) *DL*<sup>1</sup>*U* beniuo-  
lentiā (-cia *FL*<sup>2</sup>) *EFFT' L*<sup>2</sup> || 9 concilient *D' U' L*<sup>2</sup> conlient *L*<sup>1</sup> colli-  
gent *T'* | autem  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 11 pudentes *Chacon* : prudentes *D' -tis \beta* ||  
12 crede *L*<sup>1</sup> credi *D' U' T'* crede *L*<sup>2</sup> | timer $\phi$  *T -ri D' L' V* || 13  $\bar{n}r$ . his  
*D' T' \bar{n}ris* i *L*<sup>1</sup> nostris his *U \bar{n}ris FL*<sup>2</sup> | deminuat *D' L' -ant L*<sup>2</sup>  
diminuat *T'* || 14 inquit *D' U' -d LT'* || 15 aut omnino  $\beta$ , *om D'* ||  
16 certe  $\beta$  certa *D'* | dissimulari *F pr.?* -re *D' LUT'* || 17 oc-  
cultari  $\beta$  -re *D'* | an —19 tegenda *om D'* || 19 at *Beroaldo* : aut | ut  
*L' T*, *om D' V* || 20 quo *D' LT'* qua *U* quia *F* || 23 obpugnanda *DU*  
opugn- *F* oppugn- *ELT'* || 24 ipse] spe *Aldi nepos* || 25 que *om D'*

1       **32.** Dimisso consilio contionem aduocat militum. com-  
 memorat, quo sit eorum usus studio ad Corfinium Caesar, ut  
 magnam partem Italiae beneficio atque auctoritate eorum  
 2 suam fecerit. 'uos enim uestrumque factum' inquit 'omnia  
 deinceps municipia sunt secuta, neque sine causa et Caesar 5  
 3 amicissime de uobis et illi grauisissime iudicauerunt. Pompeius  
 enim nullo pr<o>elio pulsus uestri facti pr<a>eiudicio demotus  
 Italia excessit; Caesar me, quem sibi carissimum habuit, pro-  
 uinciam Siciliam atque Africam, sine quibus urbem atque  
 4 Italiam tueri non potest, uestrae fidei commisit. ad sunt, 10  
 qui uos hortentur, ut a nobis desciscatis. quid enim est illis  
 optatius, quam uno tempore et nos circum uenire et uos  
 nefario scelere obstringere? aut quid irati grauius de uobis  
 sentire possunt, quam ut eos prodatis, qui se uobis omnia  
 debere iudicant, in eorum potestatem ueniatis, qui se per uos 15  
 5 perisse existimant? an uero in Hispania res gestas Caesaris  
 non audistis? duos pulsos exercitus? duos superatos duces?  
 duas receptas prouincias? haec acta diebus XL, quibus in con-  
 6 spectum aduersariorum uenerit Caesar? an, qui incolumes  
 resistere non potuerunt, perditum resistant? uos autem <in-> 20  
 certa uictoria Caesarem secuti diiudicata iam belli fortuna  
 uictum sequamini, cum uestri officii pr<a>emia percipere de-  
 7 beatis? desertos enim se ac proditos a uobis dicunt et  
 8 prioris sacramenti mentionem faciunt. uosne uero L. Domi-  
 tium, an uos Domitius deseruit? nonne extremam pati for- 25  
 tunam paratos proiecit ille? non sibi clam [uobis] salutem  
 fuga petiuit? non proditi per illum Caesaris beneficio estis  
 9 conseruati? sacramento quidem uos tenere qui potuit, cum  
 proiectis fascibus et deposito imperio priuatus et captus ipse  
 10 in alienam uenisset potestatem? relinquitur noua religio, ut 30

**32**, 2 quod *L* || 3 auctoritatē *U'* || 6 illi *D' L' T* ille *V* | grauis-  
 sime *D' U'* gauisissime *LT'* || 8 puinciā (-tiā *D' T*) *D' U' T'* pro-  
 uinciāq; *L* || 10 Adsunt *L'* Assunt *D'* Ad sunt nob *T'* || 11 desciscatis

<sup>c(2)</sup>  
*D' T'* descisatis *L* deciscatis *U'* || 13 Aut  $\beta$  At *D'* || 14 ut  $\beta$  aut *D'* ||  
 15 ueniatis  $\beta$  ueniat is *D'* || 16 existimant  $\beta$  -mat *D'* | hi(hy *E*)spania  
*D' L'* hispaniam *T'* || 18 conspectū *D' LUV* -tu *FT'* || 20 incerta *Aldo*:  
 certa || 22 sequamini  $\beta$  sequimini *D'* || 23 se ac  $\beta$  ac se *D'* ||  
 26 nonne *T'* | uobis *del Riemann* || 27 non *L'* nonne *I'* nā *D'* ||

30 religio *D' U*, *L* corr. *F* corr <sup>r</sup>le lęgio *F*, om *T'* religione *L a. ras*

eo neglecto sacramento, quo tenemini, respiciatis illud, quod  
 11 deditioe ducis et capitis deminutione sublatum est. at, credo,  
 si Caesarem probatis, in me offenditis. qui de meis in uos  
 meritis pr<a>e[iu]dicaturus non sum, quae sunt adhuc et mea  
 uoluntate et uestra expectatione leuiora; sed tamen sui laboris 35  
 milites semper euentu belli pr<a>emia petiuerunt, qui qualis  
 sit futurus, ne uos quidem dubitatis. diligentiam quidem  
 nostram aut, quem ad finem adhuc res processit, Fortunam  
 12 cur praeteream? an paenitet uos, quod saluum atque in-  
 columem exercitum nulla omnino naue desiderata traduxerim? 40  
 quod classem hostium primo impetu adueniens profligauerim?  
 quod bis per biduum equestri pr<o>elio superauerim? quod  
 ex portu sinuque aduersariorum CC naues oneratas adduxerim  
 eoque illos compulerim, ut neque pedestri itinere neque na-  
 13 uibus, commeatu iuuari possint? hac uos Fortuna atque his 45  
 ducibus repudiatis Corfiniensem ignominiam, [in] Italiae fugam,  
 [an] Hispaniarum deditioem (en Africi belli pr<a>eiudicia)  
 14 sequimini! equidem me Caesaris militem dici uolui, uos me  
 imperatoris nomine appellauistis. cuius si uos paenitet,  
 uestrum uobis beneficium remitto, mihi meum restituite 50  
 nomen, ne ad contumeliam honorem dedisse uideamini.'

1       **33.** Qua oratione permoti milites crebro etiam dicentem  
 interpellabant, ut magno cum dolore infidelitatis suspicionem  
 sustinere uiderentur, discedentem uero ex contione uniuersi  
 cohortantur, magno sit animo, ne ubi dubitet pr<o>elium com-  
 2 mittere et suam fidem uirtutemque experiri. quo facto com- 5  
 mutata omnium et uoluntate et opinione consensu suo<rum>

31 neglecto *L* | tenemini] te memini *T'* || 32 deminut(-c *F*)ione  $\beta$   
 diminutione *D'* || 33 in *cod. Petauianus* : iam | de meis *U' T'* de  
 eis *L* de eis *D* de ei' *E* || 34 praedicaturus *Aldo* : p̄(p *L*)iudica-  
 turus || 38 nr̄am an p̄enitet uos. aut quē ad finē adhuc res p̄cessit.  
 (u<sup>r</sup> *E*) fortunā cur p̄tereā. (u<sup>r</sup> *E*) an p̄enitet uos. *D'* | res om *U'* |  
 fortuna *U'* || 39 incolumē *D' F* incolumen *LUT* · incolomē *V* ||  
 46 Italiae fugam *Chacon* : initaliē fuga (· *V*) an *LUV* initaliē fugā ·  
 an *F* initaliē fuga · in *T* in italiē · an *D'* || 47 en *Buecheler* : in ||  
 50 restituite (-isse · *D*) nomen *D' L'* nom̄ restituite *T'*

**33**, 1 Qua —3 uiderentur om *U'* || 4 ne ubi *DL*<sup>1</sup> ne ubi *U*  
 ne<sup>ubi</sup> *F* nec ibi *V* nec ubi *ET* | neu *L*<sup>2</sup> || 6 et (ante uol.)  $\beta$ , om *D'* |  
 suorum *Faerno* : suo



constituit Curio, cum primum sit data potestas, pr<o>elio rem  
 3 committere, posteroque die productos eodem loco, quo su-  
 perioribus diebus constiterat, in acie conlocat. ne Varus qui-  
 dem Attius dubitat copias producere, siue sollicitandi militeis 10  
 siue aequo loco dimicandi detur occasio, ne facultatem praeter-  
 mittat.

1     **34.** Erat uallis inter duas acies, ut supra demonstratum  
 est, non ita magna, a[u]t difficili et arduo ascensu. hanc  
 uterque si aduersariorum copiae transire conarentur, expecta-  
 2 bat, quo aequiore loco pr<o>elium committeret \* \* \* simul  
 ab sinistro cornu P. Atti equitatus omnis et una leuis arma- 5  
 turae[t] interiecti complures, cum se in uallem demitterent,  
 3 cernebantur. ad eos Curio equitatum et duas Marrucinatorum  
 cohorteis mittit; quorum primum impetum equites hostium  
 non tulerunt, sed a<m>missis equis ad suos refugerunt; relictis  
 ab his, qui una procurrerant leuis armatur<a>e, circum uenie- 10  
 bantur atque interficiebantur ab nostris. huc tota Vari con-  
 4 uersa acies suos fugere et concidi uidebat. tum Rebilus,  
 leg(atus) Caesaris, quem Curio secum ex Sicilia duxerat, quod  
 magnum habere usum in re militari sciebat, ‘perterritum’  
 inquit ‘hostem uides, Curio; quid dubitas uti temporis oportu- 15  
 5 tinitate?’ ille unum elocutus, ut memoria tenerent milites  
 ea, quae pridie sibi confirmassent, sequi sese iubet et pr<a>e-  
 currit ante omnes. adeoque erat impedita uallis, ut in  
 6 ascensu nisi subleuati a suis primi non facile eniterentur. sed  
 pr<a>eoccupatus animus Attianorum militum timore et fuga 20  
 et caede suorum nihil de resistendo cogitabat, omnesque iam

9 conlocat  $L^1U$  colocat  $D$  collocat  $EFT'L^2$  | ne  $D'U'$  Nec  $T'$   
 Nâ<sup>(2)</sup>  $L$  || 10 siue—milites  $om U'$  | milites  $D'L$  -tis  $T'$

**34, 2** magna *Chacon* : magno || 2 at *cod. Voss.* : aut || 4 \* \* \*  
*Paul* || 5 atti  $DLU$  attii  $EFT'$  | armaturae *Aldo* : armatura et ||  
 6 com(cū  $D$  q̄  $F$ )plures  $D'U'T'$  compl-  $L$  | cum] con  $L^1$  | demitterent  
*Vascosan* : dimitterent || 7 ad eos  $U'T'L^2$  Ad eo se  $L^1$  ab eis  $D'$  |  
 marrucinatorum  $DL'$  marrutinoꝝ  $T'$  maurucinoꝝ  $E$  || 8 cohortes  $D'V$   
 -tis  $L'T$  || 9 admissis *Faerno* : amissis (amis<sup>si</sup>  $F$ ) || 10 armature  $L$   
 armatura  $D'U'T'$  || 12 Tunc  $T'$  || 16 memoria  $EU'T'$ ,  $L p. ras -ā$   
 $DL a. ras$  || 17 sese  $LUT'$  se  $D'F$  || 18 ualles  $L^1U$  || 20 timore  
 (timore  $F$ )  $U'$  timore tempore  $L$  tempore  $D'T'$  || 21 iam se] se  
 iam  $T'$

se ab equitatu circum ueniri arbitrabantur. itaque priusquam telum abiei posset aut nostri propius accederent, omnis Vari acies terga uertit seque in castra recepit.

1       **35.** Qua in fuga Fabius P<a>clignus quidam ex infimis  
ordinibus de exercitu Curionis primum agmen fugientium con-  
secutus magna uoce Varum nomine appellans requirebat, uti  
2 uideretur. ubi ille saepius appellatus aspexit ac restitit et, 5  
quis esset aut quid uellet, quaesiuit, [h]umerum apertum gladio  
appetit, paulumque afuit, quin Varum interficeret; quod ille  
periculum sublato ad eius conatum scuto uitauit. Fabius a  
3 proximis militibus circum uentus interficitur. hac fugientium  
multitudine ac turba portae castrorum occupantur atque iter 10  
impeditur, pluresque in eo loco sine uulnere quam in pr<o>elio  
aut fuga intereunt, neque multum afuit, quin etiam castris  
expellerentur, ac nonnulli protinus eodem cursu in oppidum  
4 contenderunt. sed cum loci natura et munitio castrorum adiri  
tunc <prohibebat, tum>, quod ad proelium egressi Curionis 15  
milites [h]is rebus indigebant, quae ad oppugnationem castro-  
rum erant usui. itaque Curio exercitum in castra reducit  
suis omnibus praeter Fabium incolumibus, ex numero ad-  
uersariorum circiter DC interfectis ac  $\infty$  uulneratis; qui omnes  
5 discessu Curionis multique praeterea per simulationem uulne- 20  
rum ex castris in oppidum propter timorem sese recipiunt.  
6 qua re animaduersa Varus et terrore exercitus cognito buci-  
natore in castris et paucis ad speciem tabernaculi<s> relictis  
de tertia uigilia silentio exercitum in oppidum reducit.

1       **36.** Postero die Curio obsidere Vticam ualloque circum  
munire instituit. erat in oppido multitudo insolens belli  
diuturnitate otii, Vticenses pro quibusdam Caesaris in se  
beneficiis illi amicissimi, conuentus [si] qui ex uariis generibus  
2 constaret, terror ex superioribus proeliis magnus. itaque de 5

35, 4  $\tilde{e}t$  T' || 7 afuit LV affuit D' U' fuit T || 9 Hac LU  
ac D' F' T' || 12 afuit LUT' affuit D' F' || 15 <prohibebat> Manuzio |  
<tum> Buecheler || 19  $\infty$  U' corr  $\overset{?}{e}o$  L  $\overset{\infty}{\cdot}$   $\overset{?}{\cdot}$  F, om D' T' || 23 taberna-  
culis r : tabernaculi

36, 2 oppido VL<sup>2</sup> oppidum D' L' T' || 4 si del Vascosan || 5 magnus  
 $\beta$  magnas D, 7 litterarum spatium in E

deditione omnes iam palam loquebantur et cum P. Attio agebant, ne sua pertinacia omnium fortunas perturbari uellet. haec cum agerentur, nuntii pr<a>emissi ab rege Iuba uenerunt, qui illum adesse cum magnis copiis dicerent et de custodia ac defensione urbis hortarentur. quae res eorum perterritos animos confirmauit.

1       **37.** Nuntiabantur haec eadem Curioni, sed aliquandiu fides fieri non poterat; tantam habebat suarum rerum fiduciam. 2 iamque Caesaris in Hispania res secundae in Africam nuntiis ac litteris perferebantur. quibus omnibus rebus sublatus nihil 3 contra se regem nisurum existimabat. sed ubi certis aucto- 5 bus comperit minus v et xx milibus longe ab Vtica eius copias abesse, relictis munitionibus sese in Castra Cornelia 4 recepit. Huc frumentum comportare, castra munire, materiam conferre coepit statimque in Siciliam misit, uti duae legiones 5 reliquusque equitatus ad se mitteretur. castra erant ad bellum 10 ducendum aptissima natura | loci | et | munitione et maris propinquitate et aquae et salis copia, cuius magna uis iam 6 ex proximis erat salinis eo congesta. non materia multitudine arborum, non frumentum, cuius erant plenissimi agri, deficere poterat. itaque omnium suorum consensu Curio reliquas copias 15 expectare et bellum ducere parabat.

1       **38.** His constitutis rebus probatisque consiliis ex per- fugis quibusdam oppidanis audit Iubam reuocatum finitimo bello et controuersiis Leptitanorum restitisse in regno, Sa- burram, eius pr<a>efectum, cum mediocribus copiis missum 2 Vticae appropinquare. his auctoribus temere credens con- 5 silium commutat et proelio rem committere constituit. multum ad hanc rem probandam adiuuat adulescentia, magnitudo | animi, | superioris | temporis prouentus, fiducia rei bene ge- 3 rendae. his rebus impulsus equitatum omnem prima nocte ad castra hostium mittit ad flumen Bagradam; quibus pr<a>e- 10

6 iam *Vossius* : in || 8 iuba *DT'L<sup>2</sup>U<sup>2</sup>*, *F* corr iuua *L<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>* iua<sup>b</sup> *F*

**37**, 4 ac (lac *F*) *D'L'V* & *T* || 7 castra  $\beta$  castris *D'* || 11 loci et *Jurin* : et loci || 13 ex  $\beta$  et *D'* | eo *D'L'* Ea *T'*

**38**, 1 pfugis *T'* || 3 regno  $\beta$  regno et *D'* || 5 appropinquare *D'T'* adpr- *L'* || 7 adulescentia *D* adolescentia (-cia *F* -tiā *V*) *E\beta* || 8 animi, superioris *r* : superioris animi (anni *L<sup>2</sup>*)



erat Saburra, de quo ante erat auditum; sed rex cum omnibus copiis insequabatur et sex milium passum interuallo ab  
 4 Saburra consederat. equites missi nocte iter conficiunt imprudentisque atque inopinanteis hosteis aggrediuntur. Numidae enim quadam barbara consuetudine nullis ordinibus passim  
 5 consederant. hos oppressos somno et dispersos adorti magnum eorum numerum interficiunt; multi perterriti profugiunt. quo facto ad Curionem equites reuertuntur captiuosque ad eum reducunt.

1 **39.** Curio cum omnibus copiis quarta uigilia exierat cohortibus v castris praesidio relictis. progressus mil(ia) passum vi equites conuenit, rem gestam cognouit; ex captiuis quaerit, quis castris ad Bagradam praesit; respondent Sabur-  
 2 ram. reliqua studio itineris conficiendi quaerere pr(a)etermittit proximaque respiciens signa, 'uidetisne,' inquit 'mili-  
 3 tes, captiuorum orationem cum perfugis conuenire? abesse regem, exiguas esse copias missas, quae paucis equitibus pares  
 4 esse non potuerint? proinde ad praedam, ad gloriam properate, ut iam de pr(a)emiis uestris et de referenda gratia  
 5 cogitare incipiamus.' erant per se magna, quae gesserant equites, pr(a)esertim cum eorum exiguus numerus cum tanta  
 6 multitudinem Numidarum conferretur. haec tamen ab ipsis inflatius commemorabantur, ut de suis homines laudibus  
 7 libenter pr(a)edicant. multa praeterea spolia pr(a)eferebantur, capti homines equitesque producebantur, ut quicquid  
 8 intercederet temporis, hoc omne uictoria(m) morari uideretur.  
 9 ita spei Curionis militum studia non deerant. equites sequi iubet sese iterque accelerat, ut quam maxime ex fuga per-

11 cum *om T'* || 12 passum *DL*<sup>1</sup> passuum *EL*<sup>2</sup> pass' *FT* pass̄ *U*  
 passus *V* | ab *D'UL*<sup>3</sup> ≡ ab *F* ad *L*<sup>1</sup> a *T'* || 13 imprudentis (i)pru-  
 dentisq; *F* prudentes *U*) atque inopinantis (-tes *U*) *L'* prudentisq.  
 ad inopinantis *T'* prudentesq. ad inopinantes *D'V*<sup>2</sup> || 14 hostes  
*D'UV*<sup>2</sup> hostis *LFT'* | aggrediuntur *D'T'* adgr- *L'* || 15 enim] aut *T'*

**39, 2** mil *DFTL*<sup>2</sup> mil *L*<sup>1</sup>*U* mille *EV* || 3 passum *D'L*  
 passuū *L*<sup>2</sup> passu//// *L* pass̄ *U* pass' *F* passus *T'* | .VI. β .V. *D'* |  
 ex (e *T'*) captiuis (-ui<sup>s</sup> *F*) β et captiuos *D'* || 5 confic(t *D*)iundi  
*D'U* conficiendi *LFT'* || 6 inquit *T'* || 7 pfugis *T'* || 9 potuerint β  
 -runt *D'* || 14 ut de suis β unde suas *D'* | laudibus β laudes *D'* ||  
 17 om̄e *D'* om̄i *T'* homini *L'* | uictoriam *r* : uictoria | uideret<sup>2</sup> *D'*  
 uteretur β

territos adoriri posset. at illi itinere totius noctis confecti 20  
subsequi non poterant atque ali[i] alio loco resistebant. ne  
haec quidem res Curionem ad spem morabatur.

1 40. Iuba certior factus a Saburra de nocturno proelio II  
mil(ia) Hispanorum et Gallorum equitum, quos suae custo-  
diae causa circum se habere consuerat, et peditum eam par-  
tem, cui maxime confidebat, Saburrae summittit; ipse cum  
2 reliquis copiis elephantisque LX lentius subsequitur. suspica- 5  
tus <ex> pr<a>emissis equitibus ipsum adfore Curionem Sa-  
burra copias equitum peditumque instruit atque his im-  
perat, ut simulatione timoris paulatim cedant ac pedem  
referant; sese, cum opus esset, signum proelii daturum et,  
3 quod rem postulare cognouisset, imperaturum. Curio ad 10  
superiorem spem addita pr<a>esentis temporis opinione  
hostes fugere arbitratus copias ex locis superioribus in  
campum deducit.

1 41. Quibus ex locis cum longius esset progressus, con-  
2 fecto iam labore exercitu XVI mil(ium) spatio constitit. dat  
suis signum Saburra, aciem constituit et circum ire ordines  
atque hortari incipit; sed peditatu dum taxat procul ad spe-  
3 ciem utitur, equites in aciem inmittit. non deest negotio 5  
Curio suosque hortatur, ut spem omnem in uirtute reponant.  
ne militibus quidem, ut defessis, neque equitibus, ut paucis  
et labore confectis, studium ad pugnandum uirtusque deerat;  
sed hi erant numero CC, reliqui in itinere substiterant.  
4 hi quamcumque in partem impetum fecerant, hostes loco cedere 10

21 alii  $E\beta$  alia  $D$  | nec  $T'$  || 22 res om  $T'$

40, 2 quos  $D'U'$  quos<sup>t</sup> quod<sup>t</sup>  $L$  quod  $T$  quia  $V^1$  que<sup>t</sup>  $V^2$  ||  
4 sūmisit  $T'$  || 6 adfore  $DL'$  affore<sup>(2)</sup>  $EV$  afore  $T$  || 8 cedant  $U'T'$   
caedant  $D'L$

41, 1 ex locis cū (con  $L^1$ ) longius  $\beta$  ex superiorib;  $D$  cū ex  
superiorib'  $E$  || 2 exercitu  $EL'T$  exercitū  $DV$  || XVI] XII *Stoffel* ||  
3 suis signum  $\beta$  signū suis  $D'$  || 5 inmittit  $DLUV$  inmittit  $EF$   
mittit  $T$  || 6 reponant<sup>nec</sup>  $L$  || 8 et om  $T'$  || 10 Hi  $U'$  Hi<sup>///</sup>, tum ducenti in  
11 litt. lacuna  $V$  L. Hi  $T$  L.  $D'L$  | impetum  $EL'V$  inpetū  $D$   
ip&ū  $T$

cogebant, sed neque longius fugientes prosequi nec uehemen-  
 5 tius equos incitare poterant. at equitatus hostium ab utroque  
 cornu circum ire aciem nostram et auersos proterere incipit.  
 6 cum cohortes ex acie procucurrissent, Numidae integri cele-  
 ritate impetum nostrorum effugiebant, rursusque ad ordines 15  
 suos se recipientes circum ibant et ab acie excludebant. sic  
 neque in loco manere ordinesque seruare neque procurrere et  
 7 casum subire tutum uidebatur. hostium copiae summissis ab  
 rege auxiliis crebro augebantur; nostris uires lassitudine de-  
 fiebant, simul [h]i, qui uulnera acceperant, neque acie ex- 20  
 cedere neque in locum tutum referri poterant, quod tota acies  
 8 equitatu hostium circumdata tenebatur. hi de sua salute  
 desperantes, ut extremo uitae tempore homines facere con-  
 suerunt, aut suam mortem miserabantur aut parentes suos  
 commendabant, siquos ex eo periculo Fortuna seruare po- 25  
 tuisset. plena erant omnia timoris et luctus.

1        42. Curio ubi perterritis omnibus neque cohortationes  
 suas neque preces audiri intellegit, unam ut in miseris rebus  
 spem reliquam salutis esse arbitratus proximos colles capere  
 uniuersos atque eo signa inferri iubet. hos quoque pr<a>e-  
 2 occupat missus a Saburra equitatus. tum uero ad summam 5  
 desperationem nostri perueniunt et partim fugientes ab equi-  
 3 tatu interficiuntur, partim integri procumbunt. hortatur Cu-  
 rionem Cn. Domitius, pr(aefectus) eq̄(uitum), cum paucis  
 equitibus circum sistens, ut fuga salutem petat atque in  
 4 castra contendat, et se ab eo non discessurum pollicetur. at 10  
 Curio numquam se amisso exercitu, quem a Caesare fidei  
 commissum acceperit, in eius conspectum reuersurum con-  
 5 firmat atque ita pr<o>elians interficitur. equites ex pr<o>elio  
 perpauci se recipiunt; sed [h]i, quos ad nouissimum agmen

11 nec  $D' L^2$ , om  $\beta$  || 13 circū ire  $DU$  circumire  $L$  circūire  $E$  circū<sup>u</sup> ire  
 $F$  circuire  $T'$  | aduersos  $T'$  || 14 ꝑcucurrissent  $DF T'$  ꝑcucurissent  $U$   
 procurrissent  $EL$  || 16 circū ibant  $DU$  circūbant  $E$  circumibant  $L$   
 circuibant  $T'$  circuibant  $F$  || 17 seruare neque  $D' L'$  seruarent. que  $T'$  ||  
 18 uidebatur  $D' L'$  uidebantur  $T'$  || 19 nr̄is  $D' T'$  nr̄os  $L'$  || 25 eo]  
 suo  $T'$

42, 2 miseris  $L^1$  || 10 se  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  | pollicetur] se pollicet<sup>2</sup>  $E$  ||  
 14 ii  $L^2$  : hi  $D' U' T'$  id  $L^1$



equorum reficiendorum causa substitisse demonstratum est, 15  
fuga totius exercitus procul animaduversa sese incolumes in  
castra conferunt. milites ad unum omnes interficiuntur.

1 43. His rebus cognitis Marcius Rufus quaestor in castris  
relictus a Curione cohortatur suos, ne animo deficient. illi  
orant atque obsecrant, ut in Siciliam nauibus reportentur.  
pollicetur magistrisque imperat nauium, ut primo uespere  
2 omnes scaphas ad litus adpulsas habeant. sed tantus fuit 5  
omnium terror, ut alii adesse copias Iubae dicerent, alii cum  
legionibus instare Varum iamque se puluerem uenientium  
cernere, quarum rerum nihil omnino acciderat, alii classem  
hostium celeriter aduolaturam suspicarentur. itaque perterritis  
3 omnibus sibi quisque consulebat. qui in classe erant, pro- 10  
ficisci properabant. horum fuga nauium onerariarum magistris  
incitabat; pauci lenunculi ad officium imperiumque conuenie-  
4 bant. sed tanta erat completis litoribus contentio, qui po-  
tissimum ex magno numero conscenderent, ut multitudine  
atque onere nonnulli deprimerentur, reliqui hoc timore pro- 15  
pius adire tardarentur.

1 44. Quibus rebus accidit, ut pauci milites patreisque  
familiae, qui aut gratia aut misericordia ualerent aut naues  
adnare possent, recepti in Siciliam incolumes peruenirent.  
reliquae copiae missis ad Varum noctu legatorum numero  
2 centurionibus sese ei dediderunt. quorum cohortes militum 5  
postero die ante oppidum Iuba conspicatus, suam esse pr<a>e-  
dicans praedam, magnam partem eorum interfici iussit, paucos  
electos in regnum remisit, cum Varus suam fidem ab eo  
3 laedi quereretur neque resistere auderet. ipse equo in oppi-  
dum uectus prosequentibus compluribus senatoribus, quo in 10

43, 1 marc(t DT')ius D' U' T' inartus L | castra T' || 2 cohor-  
tat<sup>2</sup> β E' corr -tatus D' || 5 scaphas U' V scafas D' T' schafas L ||  
9 aduolaturam L' aduolařeturā T' aduolaturū EV aduolu turūm D ||  
13 completis EFT' L<sup>2</sup> compleas L<sup>1</sup> cūple<sup>o</sup> tis D cōpleta<sup>is(1)</sup> U |  
<totis> litoribus Paul | litoribus D' LU littorib. T', post 8 litterarum  
spatium F' || 15 onore L<sup>1</sup> F<sup>1</sup> honore F<sup>2</sup> | hoc timore D' LT' ob  
timore (-ē F') U'

44, 1 patris D' β patres L<sup>2</sup> F<sup>2</sup> || 5 quoř L' Quarum D' T' |  
militum D' L' milites militum T' || 6 sua T' || 7 praedam D' U  
pdam LF' pde (-e T) T'

numero erat Ser. Sulpicius et Licinius Damasippus, paucis diebus, quae fieri uellet, Vticae constituit atque imperauit. diebus aequae post paucis se in regnum cum omnibus copiis recepit.

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13 eque V ae(e ET)que **D'**T' eque F' quae L<sup>1</sup> que U q; L<sup>2</sup>

G. CAESARIS. BELLI CIVILIS LIBER II. EXPLICIT FELICITER U · EXPLICIT  
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 LIS LIBER SECVND': T, om. **D'LV**

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### III.

1        1. Dictatore habente comitia Caesare cons(ules) creantur  
 Iul(ius) Caesar et P. Seruilius; is enim erat annus, quo per  
 2 leges ei consulem fieri liceret. his rebus confectis, cum fides  
 tota Italia esset angustior neque creditae pecuniae solueren- 5  
 tur, constituit, ut arbitri darentur; per eos fierent aestima-  
 tiones possessionum et rerum, quanti quaeque earum ante  
 3 bellum fuisset, atque eae creditoribus traderentur. hoc et ad  
 timorem nouarum tabularum tollendum minuendumque, qui  
 fere bella et ciuiles dissensiones sequi consuevit, et ad debi-  
 torum tuendam existimationem esse aptissimum existimauit. 10  
 4 item pr(aetoribus) tribunisque pl(ebis) rogationes ad populum  
 ferentibus nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos illis  
 temporibus, quibus in urbe[m] praesidia legionum Pompeius  
 habuerat, quae iudicia aliis audientibus iudicibus, aliis sen-  
 tentiam ferentibus singulis diebus erant perfecta, in integrum 15  
 restituit, qui se illi initio ciuilis belli obtulerant, si sua opera  
 in bello uti uellet, proinde aestimans, ac si usus esset, quo-  
 5 niam *suei* fecissent potestatem. statuerat enim prius hos  
 iudicio populi debere restitui quam suo beneficio uideri re-

Incipit liber decim<sup>3</sup>. de bello ciuili. *D* INCIPIT .III. FELICIT. *U*

*Tertius (saec. 16)*

INCIPIT TERCIVS *F* INCIPIT . LIBER .: — . SECVNDVS EIVSDEM OPERIS : *J* *T*  
 INCIPIT . LIBER . tercius . CIVILIS . bellLl. *V*, om *EL*

1, 4 tota italia *D'U'* totam (-ta *V*) italiã *T'* tota itali<sup>e</sup> *L* ||  
 7 eae *L* eę *F*<sup>2</sup> eë *F*<sup>1</sup> aee *U* heę *T* hec *V* ecce *D'* || 9 fere *EL*<sup>2</sup>  
 ferre *Dβ* | bella *β* bellum *D'* || 11 Itemq; *T* | rogationis *L* ||  
 12 dampnatos *T'* || 13 urbe *L*<sup>2</sup> : urbem || 16 qui se *L'T'* qui<sup>a</sup> s *D*  
 Quas *E* | initio *Vascosan* : inotio *DU'* inotio *T'* hotio *L*<sup>1</sup> otio *L*<sup>2</sup> |  
 obtulerant *DL'V* opt- *ET* || 18 sui fecissent *scholia Hedickiana* :  
 s(f *D pr.*)uffecissent *D'LT'* subf- *U'* | hos *L*<sup>2</sup> : hoc || 19 uideri om *U'*  
 receptas *U'*



ceptos, ne aut ingratus in referenda gratia aut arrogans in 20  
pr<a>eripiendo populi beneficio uideretur.

1        2. His rebus et feriis Latinis comitiisque omnibus per-  
faciundis XI dies tribuit dictaturaque se abdicat et ab urbe  
2 proficiscitur Brundisiumque peruenit. eo legiones XII, equi-  
tatum omnem uenire iusserat. sed tantum nauium repperit,  
ut anguste XV mil(ia) legionariorum militum, D equites 5  
transportare<sup>i</sup> possent. hoc unum [inopia nauium] Caesari ad  
3 celeritatem conficiendi belli defuit. atque eae ipsae [copiae]  
hoc infrequentiores copiae inponuntur, quod multi Galliae tot  
bellis defecerant, longumque iter ex Hispania magnum nume-  
rum deminuerat, et grauis autumnus in Apulia circumque 10  
Brundisium ex saluberrimis Galliae et Hispaniae regionibus  
omnem exercitum ualitudine temptauerat.

1        3. Pompeius annum spatium ad comparandas copias  
nactus, quod uacuum a bello atque ab hoste otiosum fuerat,  
magnam ex Asia Cycladibusque insulis, Corcyra, Athenis,  
Ponto, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenice, Aegypto classem  
coegerat, magnam omnibus locis aedificandam curauerat, 5  
2 magnam imperatam Asiae, Syriae regibusque omnibus et  
dynastis et tetrarchis et liberis Achaiae populis pecuniam  
exegerat, magnam societates earum prouinciarum, quas ipse  
obtinebat, sibi numerare coegerat.

20 ingratis *L*<sup>1</sup> | arrogans *D'T'F* adrograns *L* adrogans *U* ||  
21 prer(prec *F*)ipiando populi beneficio *D'L'* in beneficio pr(p̄c *V*)i-  
piando populi *T'*

2, 1 perfaciundis *D* pficiundis *ELU* pficiendis *F* pfaciendis *T'* ||  
5 legionariorum *DL'* legionarium *ET'* | equites (es *in ras*) *E* milites  
*Dβ* || 6 transportari *Vascosan* : -re | inopia nauium *del Chacon* ||  
7 atq; eae ipsae (-e *F*) *L'* atq. heq̄ ipse (-e *V*) *T'* atque aeipsae *D*  
atq; eę *E* | copiae *del Chacon* || 8 inponun<sup>n</sup>(ū *D*)tur *DFL* inponunt<sup>2</sup> *V*  
imponuntur *EUT* | galli *Dβ* (tot galliē multi bellis *E*) gallicis *r* ||  
10 deminuerat (-ant *D*)] diminuerat *T'* || 12 ualitudine *L*

3, 1 annū *EL a. ras T'* annū *DU'* anni *L p. ras* | comparan-  
das *D* comp- *Eβ* || 3 cycladib. *D'LU* cicladiib. *FT'* | corcyra *D'LU*  
corcira *FT'* || 4 b(p *D pr*)ithinia *D' LUT'* bitinia *F* | syria *D' UT*  
siria *LFV* | phoenice *D* -cae *LUV* phenice *E* phenice *F* fenice *T* |  
aeg(aep *D pr*)ypto *D* egypto *LF* ae(e *V*)gipto *UI'* || 6 syriae *D' U*  
sirie (-e *LV*) *LFT'* || 7 dynastis : dinastis | tetrarchis *LV* tetrarchis *E*  
t&harcis *D* tetrharchis *U* tetrarchis *F* retrharchis *T* || 8 magnam  
*Aldo* : magnas

1 4. Legiones effecerat ciuium R(omanorum) VIII: v ex  
 Italia, quas traduxerat; unam ex Cilicia ueteranam, quam  
 factam ex duabus gemellam appellabat; unam ex Creta et  
 Macedonia ex ueteranis militibus, qui dimissi a superioribus  
 imperatoribus in his prouinciis consederant; duas ex Asia, 5  
 2 quas Lentulus consul conscribendas curauerat. praeterea  
 magnum numerum ex Thessalia, Boe(o)tia, Achaia Epiro[s]-  
 que supplementi nomine in legiones distribuerat; his Anto-  
 3 nianos milites admiscuerat. praeter has expectabat cum Sci-  
 pione ex Syria legiones II. sagittarios Creta, Lacedaemone, 10  
 ex Ponto atque Syria reliquisque ciuitatibus III numero habe-  
 bat, funditorum cohortes sexcenarias II, equit(um) VII mil(ia).  
 ex quibus DC Gallos Deiotarus adduxerat, D Ariobarzanes ex  
 Cappadocia; ad eundem numerum Cotus ex Trachia dederat  
 4 et Sadalam filium miserat; ex Macedonia CC erant, quibus 15  
 Rascipolis praeerat, excellenti uirtute; D ex Gabinianis Alexan-  
 dria, Gallos Germanosque, quos ibi A. Gabinius pr(a)esidi  
 causa apud regem Ptolom(a)eum reliquerat, Pompeius filius  
 cum classe adduxerat; DCCC ex seruis suis pastorumque suo-  
 5 rum <numero> coegerat; CCC Tarcondarius Castor et Domni- 20  
 laus ex Gallogr(a)ecia dederant (horum alter una uenerat,  
 alter filium miserat); CC ex Syria a Commageno Antiocho,  
 cui magna Pompeius pr(a)emia tribuit, missi erant, in his  
 6 plerique hippotoxotae. huc Dardanos, Bessos partim mercen-  
 narios, partim imperio aut gratia comparatos, item Mace- 25  
 dones, Thessalos ac reliquarum gentium et ciuitatium ad-

4, 2 Cilicia *Chacon* : sicilia || 6 conscribendas  $\beta$  scribendas  $D'$  ||  
 7 Boeotia *Aldo* : boetia (-cia  $F'$ ) | epiro  $L^2$  epyro  $V p.$  ras : epiros  
 $D' LFT$  epyros  $UV a.$  ras || 8 supplementi  $EFL^2$  suple $\bar{m}$ ti  $V$   
 com supple $\bar{m}$ enti  $L$  plementi  $DT$  || 10 syria  $D' LU$  siria  $FT'$  |  
 sagitt(sagit  $DL$ arios] sagittariorum *Vascosan* | ex creta  $E a.$  ras,  $L^2$  ||  
 11 syria  $D' L$  siria  $FT'$  ex siria  $U$  || 12 equit  $UT$  equit $\bar{u}$   $F$  equit $\bar{u}$   $V$   
 e(ae  $D$ )quites  $D' L$  || 13 gallos  $\beta$  gallus  $D'$ , *del Beroaldo* || 14 trachia  
 $D' LUT$  thrachia  $F$  tracia  $V$  || 15 Sadalam *Nic. Heinsius* : sasalam  
 $D' L' T$  sadal $\bar{u}$   $V$  || 16 Gabinianis] galinianis  $T$  gallia[nis]  $V$  | alexan-  
 dria  $\beta$  -ie $\bar{q}$   $D'$  || 17 p̄sidia  $D$  -dii (iis  $F'$ )  $E\beta$  || 18 pto loe|meum  $L$  ||  
 19 ex  $L' T$  cum  $V$  quos ex  $D'$  || 20 <numero> *Clarke* ] 7 litterarum  
*spatium in E* | domilaus  $F$  || 21 gallogrecia  $ELT'$ ,  $F$  corr gallo causa  
 greca  $U'$  gallo  $D$  | dederant  $LUT'$  -rat  $F$ , om  $D'$  || 22 siria  $FV$  |  
 cōmagino (g $\bar{n}$ o<sup>i(1)</sup>  $U$ )  $U'$  | anthio  $T$  anthiochi  $V$  || 24 beissos  $T'$  || 26 ciui-  
 tatium  $DT$  ciuitat $\bar{u}$   $ELV$



iecerat atque eum, quem supra demonstrauius, numerum expleuerat.

1        5. Frumenti uim maximam ex Thessalia, Asia, Aegypto,  
2 Creta, Cyrenis reliquisque regionibus comparauerat. hiemare  
Dyrrachii, Apollonia(e) omnibusque oppidis maritimis con-  
stituerat, ut mare transire Caesarem prohiberet, eiusque rei  
3 causa omni ora maritima classem disposuerat. praeerat 5  
Aegyptiis nauibus Pompeius filius, Asiaticis D. Laelius et C.  
Triarius, Syriacis C. Cassius, Rhodiis C. Marcellus cum C.  
Co[m]ponio, Liburnicae atque Achaicae classi Scribonius Libo  
4 et M. Octavius. toti tamen officio maritimo M. Bibulus  
pr(a)epositus cuncta administrabat; ad hunc summa imperii 10  
respiciebat.

1        6. Caesar ut Brundisium uenit, contionatus apud milites,  
quoniam prope ad finem laborum ac periculorum esset per-  
uentum, aequo animo mancipia atque impedimenta in Italia  
relinquerent, ipsi expediti naues conscenderent, quo maior  
numerus militum posset inponi, omniaque ex uictoria et ex 5  
sua liberalitate sperarent, conclamantibus omnibus, imperaret,  
quod uellet, quodcumque imperauisset, se aequo animo esse  
2 facturos, II. non. Ian. nauis soluit. impositae, ut supra  
3 demonstratum est, leg(iones) VII. postridie terram attigit  
Cerauniorum. saxa inter et alia loca periculosa quietam 10  
nactus stationem et portus omnes timens, quod teneri ab  
aduersariis arbitrabantur, ad eum locum, qui appellabatur

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5, 1 ae(e V)gypto **D'V** e(e LF)gipto **L'T** || 2 cirenis **L'** || 3 Dyr-  
rachii *Vasosan* : dyrrachiū **D** dirrachio **E** dirrachiiū **L'** dyrachiū **T'** ||  
3 apolloniae **L<sup>2</sup>** : apollonia **ELT'** appollonia **DU'** || 5 maritima **DT**  
-tima **EL'V** || 6 ae(e EV)gyptiis **D'V** e(e LU')gipt(c F)iiis **L'T** |  
lahelius **D'** lelius **LFT'** lel; *U pr.* lebius *U corr* || 7 tri(trai F)arius]  
trianus **T'** | syriacis **EUV** sir- **DLFT** | rhodiis **LUT'** rodiius **F**  
rho **D** rho **E** | -diis —8 Scri- *om* **D'** || 8 Coponio *Glandorp* : pom-  
(pō **LFU corr**)ponio (pōpeio **U**) | classi scriboniu<sup>s</sup> **V** classis cribonius  
**L'** classis cribonius **L<sup>2</sup>** bonius **D'** classis scriboniu' **T** || 9 tam̄ **β**  
tam **D** tū **E** | maritimo **DT** -timo **EL'V**

6, 3 impedimenta **DV imp- EL'T** || 5 inponi **DUT'** īponi **L**  
imp- **EF** || 8 nauis<sup>o</sup> **D** -ues **Eβ** || 9 Postridie **E** post p(ex t D)ridie  
(-e D) **Dβ** || 10 Cerauniorum *Vettori* : germiniorum **D'T'** germanio-  
rum **L'** | quietam **L'T** qui etiā **V** que aetiam **D** que &iā **E** ||  
11 nactus **D'** nactus **LFT'** nat<sup>o</sup> **U** || 12 arbitrabat<sup>2</sup> **L<sup>2</sup>** | appellabatur  
**DL'**, *T corr* appellabañt<sup>2</sup> **T** apellabat<sup>2</sup> **V** appellat<sup>2</sup> **E**, *L corr*



Pharsalia, omnibus nauibus ad unam incolumibus milites exposuit.

1 7. Erant Orici Lucretius Vispillo et Minucius Rufus cum  
Asiaticis nauibus XVIII, quibus iussu D. Laeli pr<a>eera<n>t,  
2 M. Bibulus cum nauibus CX Coreyrae. sed neque hei sibi  
confisi ex portu prodire sunt ausi, cum Caesar omnino XII  
naues longas pr<a>esidio duxisset, in quibus erant constratae 5  
III, neque Bibulus impeditis nauibus dispersisque remigibus  
satis mature occurrit, quod prius ad continentem uisus est  
Caesar, quam de eius aduentu fama omnino in eas regiones  
perferretur.

1 8. Expositis militibus naues eadem nocte Brundisium a  
Caesare remittuntur, ut reliquae legiones equitatusque transpor-  
2 tari possent. huic officio praepositus erat Fufius Calenus  
legatus, qui celeritatem in transportandis legionibus adhiberet.  
sed serius a terra prouectae naues neque usae nocturna aura 5  
3 in redeundo offenderunt. Bibulus enim Coreyrae certior factus  
de aduentu Caesaris sperans alicui se parti onustarum nauium  
occurrere posse inanibus occurrit et nactus circiter XXX in  
eas <in>diligentiae suae ac doloris iracundia erupit omnesque  
incendit eodemque igne nautas dominosque nauium interfecit 10  
4 magnitudine poenae reliquos deterrere sperans. hoc confecto  
negotio a Sasonis ad Curici portum stationes litoraue omnia  
longe lateque classibus occupauit custodiisque diligentius

13 Pharsalia] Palaeste *Glandorp*

7, 1 erāt D Erañt T Erat ELV | orici TU pr. oryci D L F V,  
U corr | vispillo V bispillo D' L F T bispullo U | minuci' F mi-  
nutius ELUT minutius V minitius D || 2 laeli DT leli LUV  
lelii EF | praerant *Manuzio* : perat || 3 corcyre (-re<sup>a</sup> L -re DV) DLT'  
corcire (-re U') EU' | hi D' <sup>or</sup> III LT' quatt(quat F)uor U' || 5 con-  
stratae III *Orsini* : constructe (-e V) ille T' constructe illi L'  
ille D' || 6 impeditis — 7 ocurit in ras D || 6 im(in L)peditis D' L'  
im(in V)peditis T' || 7 uisus D', L corr usus β

8, 3 possent β posset D' | fufius ELUT' fiti' F fusfius D ||  
5 use (-e F) EL'T usu D, om V || 6 corcyre (-e E) corcire F ||  
9 indiligentiae *Estienne* : diligent(-c FV)ie | ac β hoc D' | iracun-  
dia β -die (-e E) D', -diam *Faerno* || 11 deterrere L' treri T', om D'  
(post sperans 8 litterarum spatium in E) || 12 Curici *Mommsen* :  
corici LFT' coryci U coricy D oryci E | litora EU littora DLFV  
littore<sup>a</sup> T

dispositis, ipse grauissima hieme in nauibus excubans neque ullum laborem aut munus despiciens neque subsidium expectans, si in Caesaris complexum uenire posset.

1        9. Discessu Liburnarum ex Illyrico M. Octavius cum [h]is, quas habebat, nauibus Salonas peruenit. ibi concitatis Dalmatis reliquisque barbaris [H]issam a Caesaris amicitia  
2 auertit; conuentum Salonis cum neque pollicitationibus neque denuntiatione periculi permouere posset, oppidum oppugnare 5 instituit. est autem oppidum et loci natura et colle munitum. sed celeriter ciues R(omani) ligneis effectis turribus, his sese munierunt et, cum essent infirmi ad resistendum propter paucitatem hominum crebris confecti uulneribus, ad extremum auxilium descenderunt seruosque omnes puberes 10 liberauerunt et praesectis omnium mulierum crinibus tormenta effecerunt. quorum cognita sententia Octavius quinque castris oppidum circumdedit atque uno tempore obsidione et oppugnationibus eos premere coepit. illi omnia perpeti parati maxime a re frumentaria laborabant. cui rei missis ad Caesarem 15 legatis auxilium ab eo petebant; reliqua, ut poterant, incommoda per se sustinebant. et longo interposito spatio cum diuturnitas oppugnationis neglegentiores Octavianos effecisset, nacti occasionem meridiani temporis discessu eorum pueris mulieribusque in muro dispositis, nequid cotidianae consuetudinis desideraretur, ipsi manu facta cum [h]is, quos nuper maxime liberauerant, in proxima Octavi castra intruperunt.  
7 his expugnatis eodem impetu altera sunt adorti, inde tertia et quarta et deinceps reliqua, omnibusque eos castris expulerunt et magno numero interfecto reliquos atque ipsum Octauium in naues confugere coegerunt. [hic fuit oppugnationis  
8 exitus.] iamque hiems adpropinquabat, et tantis detrimentis

16 uenire posset] ueniret V

9, 1 Illyrico : illirico || 3 Issam *Manuzio* : hissam || 5 denunt(c V)iatione D'LT' denunciat(c F)ionib. U' | oppugnare (-ri E) D'LT' obp- U' || 8 his β, om D' || 9 crebris confecti uulneribus *del Paul* || 15 cui rei missis *Nipperdey* : Cui remis sis D Cui' rei missis E Qui remissis β || 19 occasiōem D occasionem EU'T' ocasiōem L || 20 dispositis D'LV dep- U'T' || 22 maxime D'V<sup>2</sup> -mi β, *del Paul* | octaui LUT' -uii D'F' || 26 hic -27 exitus om E | Hic LFT', U corr hoc DU pr || 27 hiems D'L hiemps U'T'

receptis Octavius desperata oppugnatione oppidi Dyrrachium sese ad Pompeium recipit.

1       **10.** Demonstrauius L. Vibul<l>ium Rufum, Pompei  
 praef(ectum), bis in potestatem peruenisse Caesaris atque ab  
 eo esse dimissum, semel ad Corfinium, iterum in Hispania.  
 2 hunc pro suis beneficiis Caesar idoneum iudicauerat, quem  
 cum mandatis ad Cn. Pompeium mitteret, eundemque apud 5  
 3 Cn. Pompeium auctoritatem habere intellegebat. erat autem  
 haec summa mandatorum: debere utrumque pertinaciae finem  
 facere et ab armis discedere neque amplius Fortunam peri-  
 4 clitari. satis esse magna utrimque incommoda accepta, quae  
 pro disciplina et pr<a>ceptis habere possent, ut reliquos 10  
 5 casus timerent: illum Italia expulsum amissa Sicilia et Sar-  
 dinia duabusque Hispaniis et cohortibus <in> Italia atque  
 Hispania ciuium Romanorum centum atque xxx; <se> morte  
 Curionis et detrimento Africani exercitus, [t] Anto<ni> mili-  
 6 tumque deditioe ad Corcyram. proinde sibi ac rei p(ublicae) 15  
 parcerent, <quom> quantum in bello Fortuna posset, iam ipsi  
 7 incommodis suis satis essent documento. hoc unum esse  
 tempus de pace agendi, dum sibi uterque confideret et pares  
 ambo uiderentur; si uero alteri paulum modo tribuisset For-  
 tuna, non esse usurum conditionibus pacis eum, qui superior 20  
 uideretur, neque fore aequa parte contentum, qui se omnia  
 8 habiturum confideret. conditiones pacis quoniam antea con-  
 uenire non potuissent, Romae ab senatu et a populo peti  
 9 debere. interea et rei p(ublicae) et ipsis placere oportere, si  
 uterque in contione statim iurauisset se triduo proximo exer- 25  
 10 citum dimissurum. depositis armis auxiliisque, quibus nunc

28 receptis **D'LT'** accep(accepis **F**)tis **U'** | dyrrachiū **D'LU** dirr  
 (dir **V**)achium **F'T'** || 29 recipit **LUT'** recepit **D'FL** corr

**10, 1** Vibullium *Aldo* : uibullū **D** bibullū **E** bibulum **β** ||  
 5 eun(eū **LT**)dēq; **β** eandemq; **D** eandē **E** || 9 utrimq; **DL** utriq;  
**E** utriq; **U'T** utriq; **V** || 10 possint **T'** || 11 sicilia **ELFT'U<sup>2</sup>** silicia  
**D** cilicia **U<sup>1</sup>** || 12 <in> *Vascosan* || 13 se *cod. Leid. 38* : a **T**, om  
**DLV** || 14 af(aff **V**)ricani **D'UT'** af(aff **L**)raniani **FUuar** | Antoni  
*Kraner* : ta(a *ex o T*)nto || 15 corey(corei **EFV**)ram] Curictam  
*Rubens* || 16 <quom> *Nipperdey* | ipsi **β**, **D** corr ipsis **D'** || 19 modo **β**  
 modū **D'** || 20 conditionibus **EL'T** condicionib. **DV** || 21 equa  
 (eq<sup>a</sup> **L**) **β**] eaque **D** ea **E** || 25 pximo **β** pximū **D'**



confiderent, necessario populi senatusque iudicio fore utrum-  
 11 que contentum. haec quo facilius Pompeio probare*i* possent,  
 omnes suas terrestres urbiumque copias dimissurum.

1      11. Vibul<l>ius his expositis Coreyrae non minus ne-  
 cessarium esse existimavit de repentino aduentu Caesaris  
 Pompeium fieri certiore*m*, uti ad id consilium capere posset,  
 antequam de mandatis agi inciperet. atque eidem continuato  
 nocte ac die itinere atque omnibus [c]op<p>i<d>is mutatis ad ce- 5  
 leritatem iumentis ad Pompeium contendit, ut adesse Caesarem  
 2 nuntiaret. Pompeius erat eo tempore in Candauia iterque ex  
 Macedonia in hiberna Apolloniam Dyrrachiumque habebat.  
 sed re noua perturbatus maioribus itineribus Apolloniam pe-  
 tere coepit, ne Caesar orae maritimae ciuitates occuparet. 10  
 3 at ille expositis militibus eodem die Oricum proficiscitur.  
 quo cum uenisset, L. Torquatus, qui iussu Pompei oppido  
 pr<a>erat pr<a>esidiumque ibi Partinorum habebat, conatus  
 4 portis clausis oppidum defendere, cum Gr<a>ecos murum  
 ascendere atque arma capere iuberet, illi autem se contra 15  
 imperium p(opuli) R(omani) pugnaturus negarent, oppidani  
 autem etiam sua sponte Caesarem recipere conarentur, de-  
 speratis omnibus auxiliis portas aperuit et se atque oppidum  
 Caesare*i* dedit incolumisque ab eo conseruatus est.

1      12. Recepto Caesar Orico nulla interposita mora Apollo-  
 niam proficiscitur. eius aduentu audito L. Staberius, qui ibi  
 pr<a>erat, aquam comportare in arcem atque eam munire  
 2 obsidesque ab Apolloniatibus exigere coepit. illi uero daturus  
 se negare neque portas consuli pr<a>eclusuros neque sibi 5

28 haec —29 dimissurum] *del Hug* || 28 pbare *F*<sup>1</sup> probari *D' UT' F*<sup>2</sup> ||  
 29 dimissurū *ELF* dimissurū s; *D* dimissurus *UT'*

11, 1 Vibullius *Aldo* : bibullus *D'* Bibulus *β* | corcyre (-re *U*)  
*D' LUV* corcire *FT* || 5 oppidis *Lips* : copiis || 6 ut *EV* et  
*DL'T* || 8 dyrrachiū *D'* dirrachiū (ūq; *om Upr*) *L'* dyrachiū *T*  
*dirachiū V* || 10 maritimę (-me *D*) *DT* -time (-e *FV*) *L'V mari-*  
*time E* || 11 oricū *LV* orycū *E* orscū *DU'T* || 15 se *LT'* cū *E*,  
*om DF* || 16 pugnaturus ēē *E* || 17 autem etiam] etiā aut *L* aut, *etiā*<sup>(1)</sup> *F* ||  
 19 cęsarę *D* cę(ce- *LU*)sari *Eβ*

12, 1 orico *Dβ* orycō *E* ori<sup>s</sup>co *F* || 2 eius *D* Cui' *T* | staberiu'  
*T* straberius *D'LV* || 3 arcem *L'V* -ce *D'T*

iudicium sumpturos contra, atque omnis Italia [p(opulus)  
 3 R(omanus)] iudicauisset. quorum cognita uoluntate clam pro-  
 fugit Apollonia Staberius. illi ad Caesarem legatos mittunt  
 4 oppidoque recipiunt. hos secuntur Byllidenses, Amantini et  
 reliquae finitimae ciuitates totaque Epiros et legatis ad Cae- 10  
 sarem missis, quae imperaret, facturos pollicentur.

1 **13.** At Pompeius cognitis his rebus, quae erant Orici  
 atque Apolloniae gestae, Dyrrachio timens diurnis eo noctur-  
 2 nisque itineribus contendit. simul [ac] Caesar appropinquare  
 dicebatur; tantusque terror incidit eius exercitu[s], quod pro-  
 perans noctem diei coniunxerat neque iter inter miserat, ut 5  
 paene omnes in Epiro finitumisque regionibus signa relin-  
 querent, complures arma proicerent, ac fugae simile iter uide-  
 3 retur. sed cum prope Dyrrachium Pompeius constitisset  
 castraque metari iussisset, perterrito etiam tum exercitu prin-  
 cept Labienus procedit iuratque se eum non deserturum eun- 10  
 demque casum subiturum, quemcumque ei Fortuna tribuisset.  
 4 hoc idem reliqui iurant legati; hos tribuni militum centurio-  
 5 nesque secuntur, atque idem omnis exercitus iurat. Caesar  
 pr(a)e[fecto]occupato itinere ad Dyrrachium finem pro-  
 perandi facit castraque ad flumen Hapsum ponit in finibus 15  
 Apolloniatium, ut [castellis uigiliisque] bene meritaе ciuitatis

6 sumpturos contra atque omnis  $\beta$  sumpturos contra om̃s<sup>a</sup> atq;  $D$  cont<sup>a</sup>  
 om̃s sūpturos atq;  $E$  | p. R. *del Paul* || 8 staberius  $LT$  stra-  
 berius  $D'U'V$  || 9 Hos  $r$  : hoc | secunt<sup>2</sup>  $T'$  sequuntur  $D'L'$  |  
 byllidenses  $D'LU$  billidenses  $T'$ ,  $F$  corr belli denses  $Fpr$  | Aman-  
 tini *Loriti* : amathini  $D'LT$  amatthini  $U'$  amatini  $V$  || 10 reliq<sup>a</sup>  $T'$   
 -qui<sup>e</sup>  $D$  | epiros  $L'$  epyros  $T'$  epirus  $D'$ ,  $L$  corr || 11 factu-  
 ros se  $E$

**13, 1** orici  $L'T$  oryci  $D'V$  || 2 gesta  $T'$  | dyrrachio  $D'U$  dir-  
 rachio  $LF$  dyrachio  $T$  dirachio  $V$  | eo  $DL'$  seu  $ET$ , om  $V$  || 3 simul  
 —4 incidit om  $D'$  simul —4 dicebatur *del Gruter* | ac  $\beta$ , om *codd. rec.* |  
 appropinquare  $LT'$  adpr-  $U'$  || 4 exercitvi  $L^2$  : exercitus (i<sup>t</sup> us  $D$ ) ||  
 5 diei  $E\beta$  die  $D$  || 6 in] ex *Jurin* | epiro  $LF$  e(a<sup>t</sup>  $D$ )pyro  $D'UT'$  |  
 finitumis  $DT$  -timis  $EL'V$ ,  $D$  corr || 8 dyrrachiū  $DU$  dirr-  $ELFT$   
 dir-  $V$  || 9 exercitō  $D$  || 11 ei  $T'$ ,  $L$  corr et  $DL'$ , om  $E$  || 12 hos  
 om  $T'$  | tribuni  $\beta$  trib;  $D$  tres  $E$  || 14 praeoccupato *Aldi nepos*, prae-  
 cepto *Chacon* : p̄(p  $E$  p̄  $L$ )fecto occupato | dy(dr  $D$  pr.)rrachiū  $D'U'$   
 dirrachyū  $T$  dirrachīū  $L$  dirachiū  $V$  || 15 Apsum ponit *Aldo* : hab;  
 (habus  $U$ ) supponit  $L'$  habus subponit  $T'$  habus<sup>2</sup> subponit  $D$  tapsū  
 ponit  $E$  | in  $EL'V$  ut  $DT$  || 16 castellis uigiliisque *del Ph. Kayser*



tutae essent pr<a>esidio, ibique reliquarum ex Italia legionum  
6 aduentum expectare et sub pellibus hiemare constituit. hoc  
idem Pompeius fecit et trans flumen [t]Hapsum positis castris  
eo copias omnes auxiliaque conduxit. 20

1 14. Calenus legionibus equitibusque Brundisi in naues  
inpositis, ut erat pr<a>eceptum a Caesare, quantum nauium  
facultatem habebat, naues soluit, paulumque a portu pro-  
gressus litteras a Caesare accepit, quibus est certior factus  
2 portus litoraue omnia classibus aduersariorum teneri. quo 5  
cognito se in portum recipit nauesque omnes reuocat. una  
ex his, quae perseuerauit neque imperio Caleni obtemperauit,  
quod erat sine militibus priuatoque consilio administrabatur,  
3 delata Oricum atque a Bibulo expugnata est; qui de seruis  
liberisque omnibus ad inpuberes supplicium sumit et ad unum 10  
interficit. ita exiguo tempore magnoque casu totius exercitus  
salus constitit.

1 15. Bibulus, ut supra demonstratum est, erat in classe  
ad Oricum et, sicuti mari portibusque Caesarem prohibebat,  
2 ita ipse omni terra earum regionum prohibebatur. praesidiis  
enim dispositis omnia litora a Caesare tenebantur, neque  
lignandi atque aquandi neque naues ad terram religandi po- 5  
3 testas fiebat. erat res in magna difficultate summisque an-  
gustiis rerum necessariarum premebantur, adeo ut cogere-  
rentur sicuti reliquum commeatum ita ligna atque aquam Corcyra  
4 nauibus onerariis subportare, atque etiam uno tempore accidit,  
ut difficilioribus usei tempestatibus ex pellibus, quibus erant 10

17 tute (-te *U' T*)  $\beta$ *E* tue *D* || 18 sup *D* || 19 Apsum *Aldo* : thapsū  
*L' TE* tapsū *V* tabsum *D*

14, 2 inpositis *D* impositis (-tas *F*) *EL' T* ip- *V* | q̄ntā *F* ||  
4 accepit *D' L F V* accipit *U T*, *L corr* || 5 port' *L'* portū *T' E*  
portu *D* | litora *D' U T* litt- *L F V* | teneri *D' L U T'* -re *E* || 6 reci-  
pit *L' T* -cepit *V D'* || 7 obtēperauit *D' U V* opt- *L F T* || 9 deleta  
*D F T* | ori(or<sup>i</sup>, *T*)cū  $\beta$  orycum *D* ad orycū *E* || 10 inpuberes *D L U*  
imp- *E F T'* || 11 int̄ficit *E U' T'*, *D corr L corr* -fecit *D L* | exiguo  
*L' T* in exiguo *D' V* | casu  $\beta$  -sū (-um *E*) *D'* || 12 constitit  $\beta$  con-  
stituit *D'*

15, 1 in *E*, om *D* $\beta$ , cum *r* || 2 oricū  $\beta$  orycū *D'* | que om *E F* ||  
4 litora *D' U* litt- *L F T'* || 5 atque] aut *E* neq; *F* || 8 corcyra *V*  
co(cy *D pr*)rey (corci *F*)rā *D' L' T* || 9 subportare *D T* supp- *E L' V* ||  
10 usi  $\beta$ , *E corr* usis *D* usu *E pr* | ex pellibus  $\beta$ , om *D'*



5 tectae naues, nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur; quas  
 tamen difficultates patienter atque aequo animo ferebant neque  
 6 sibi nudanda litora et relinquendos portus existimabant. sed  
 cum essent in quibus demonstraui angustiis ac se Libo cum  
 Bibulo coniunxisset, locuntur ambo ex nauibus cum *M'* 15  
 Acilio et Statio Murco legatis, 'quorum alter oppidi muris,  
 alter pr<a>esidiis terrestribus pr<a>eerat: uelle se de maximeis  
 rebus cum Caesare loqui, si sibi facultas detur. huc addunt  
 pauca rei confirmandae causa, ut de compositione acturi uide-  
 7 rentur. interim postulant, ut sint indutiae, atque ab [h]is 20  
 8 impetrant. magnum enim, quod adferebant, uidebatur, et  
 Caesarem id summe sciebant cupere, et profectum aliquid  
 Vibulli mandatis existimabatur.

1     **16.** Caesar eo tempore cum legione una profectus ad  
 recipiendas ulteriores ciuitates et rem frumentariam expedien-  
 dam, qua anguste utebatur, erat ad Butrotum oppidum <op-  
 2 positum> Corcyrae. ibi certior ab Acilio et Murco per litteras  
 factus de postulatis Libonis et Bibuli legionem relinquit; ipse 5  
 3 Oricum reuertitur. eo cum uenisset, euocantur illi ad con-  
 loquium. prodit Libo \* \* \* neque excussat Bibulum, quod is  
 iracundia summa erat inimicitiasque habebat etiam priuatas  
 cum Caesare ex aedilitate et pr<a>etura conceptas; ob eam  
 causam conloquium uitasse, ne res maximae spei maximae- 10  
 4 que utilitatis eius iracundia impedirentur. Pompei summam  
 esse ac fuisse semper uoluntatem, ut componerentur atque ab  
 armis discederetur, se[d] potestatem eius rei nullam habere,  
 propterea quod de consilii sententia summam belli rerumque  
 5 omnium Pompeio permiserint. sed postulatis Caesaris cognitis 15

13 litora *D' UT* litt- *LFV* || 15 locuntur *DF* loquunt<sup>2</sup> *ELUT'* |  
*M'*. Acilio *Orsini* : .m. acilio (acilicio *T*) *D' LT'* macilio *U'* || 17 de  
 maximis *D* de maximis  $\beta$  maximis de *E* || 18 sibi *E* sibi eius *D*  
 sibi ei' *L'* ei *T*, om *V* || 22 cupere  $\beta$ , *D corr* accipere *D'* | aliquid  
*D'* aliquid  $\beta$  || 23 Vibullii *Canter* : bibulli *D* bibuli *E\beta*

**16**, 3 anguste (-e *UT'*)] angusta *Kindscher* | butrotum *D' U'*  
 brutotū *L* burtotū *T'* | <oppositum> *Oudendorp* || 4 corcyre *DL' T*  
 corcire *EV* | ibi] ubi *T'* || 6 orycū *E* | 6. 10 conloquium *DUT* coll-  
*ELFV* || 7 \* \* \* *Oudendorp* | excussat *D* excusat *E\beta* | is *EUT'*  
 his *L* his *DF* || 10 spei maxime (-e *U'*) q; *L' V* spei q̄, maximeq; *T*  
 que (-e *E*) *D'* || 11 pompei *DUT'* -eii *ELF* | sūmā (<sup>s-</sup>rū mā *T*) *T'*  
 summa *D' L'* || 13 se *Buecheler* : sed

missuros ad Pompeium, atque illum reliqua per se acturum hortantibus ipsis. interea manerent indutiae, dum ab illo redirei posset, neue alter alteri noceret. huc addit pauca de causa et de copiis auxiliisque suis.

1 17. Quibus rebus neque tum respondendum Caesar ex-  
 2 istimauit, neque nunc, ut memoriae prodatur, satis causae  
 3 putamus. postulabat Caesar, ut legatos sibi ad Pompeium  
 sine periculo mittere liceret idque ipsi fore reciperent aut  
 4 acceptos per se ad eum perducerent. quod ad indutias per- 5  
 tineret, sic belli rationem esse diuisam, ut illi classe naues  
 auxiliaque sua impedirent, ipse ut aqua terraque eos pro-  
 4 hiberet. sei hoc sibi remitti uellent, remitterent ipsi de mari-  
 tumis custodiis; si illud tenerent, se quoque id retenturum.  
 nihilo minus tamen agei posse de compositione, ut haec non 10  
 5 remitterentur, neque hanc rem illi[s] esse impedimento. Libo  
 neque legatos Caesaris recipere neque periculum praestare  
 eorum, sed totam rem ad Pompeium reicere; unum instare  
 6 de indutiis uehementissimeque contendere. quem ubi Caesar  
 intellexit pr<a>esentis periculi atque inopiae uitandae causa 15  
 omnem orationem instituisse neque ullam spem aut conditio-  
 nem pacis adferre, ad reliquam cogitationem belli sese recepit.

1 18. Bibulus multos dies terra prohibitus et grauiore  
 morbo ex frigore ac labore inplicitus, cum neque curari  
 posset neque susceptum officium deserere uellet, uim morbi  
 2 sustinere non potuit. eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa  
 imperii redit, sed separatim suam quisque classem ad arbi- 5  
 3 trium suum administrabat. Vibullius sedato tumultu, quem  
 repentinus aduentus Caesaris concitauerat, ubi primum <e>  
 re uisum est, adhibito Libone et L. Luceio et Theophane,

16 se acturum  $\beta$  setaturum  $D$  fecturū  $E$  || 18 rediri  $D' L' T$  redire  
 $V$  | neue  $D' L U$  7neue  $F$  neuel  $T$  ne ue  $V$

17, 4 ipsi] sibi  $E$  || 6 classe  $L'$  -em  $DT'$  -ē &  $E$  || 8 si  $D' T'$   
 et si  $L'$  | maritumis  $T$  -timis  $D' L'$  -nis  $V$  || 10 agi  $D' L T'$  agit  $U'$  ||  
 11 illi *Madvig* : illis | impedimento. Libo *Madvig* : impedimenti loco  
 (in  $E$  tum spatium 6 litt. in extrema linea, in mg r. q̄ deest) || 14 Quē  
 $L$  corr : Quae || 16 omnem  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 17 adferre  $D U'$  aff-  $ELT'$  |  
 recepit  $\beta$  recipit  $D'$

18, 2 inplicitus  $DUT$  imp-  $ELFV$  || 6 Vibullius  $\beta$  bibullus  $D''$   
 7 e re uisum est *Elberling* : reuersus ē  $E$  rursus  $\beta D$  || 8 adhibito  
 $EL'$  adhibitoq;  $D$  adhibito q̄. (Q.  $V$ )  $T'$  | libone  $D'$  librone  $\beta$  |  
<sup>ce</sup>  
 luceio  $U$  luceio  $D' LFT'$

quibus<cum> communicare de maximis rebus Pompeius con-  
 4 suerat, de mandatis Caesaris agere instituit. quem ingressum 10  
 in sermonem Pompeius interpellauit et loqui plura prohibuit.  
 'quid mihi' inquit 'aut uita aut ciuitate opus est, quam  
 beneficio Caesaris habere uidebor? cuius rei opinio tolli non  
 poterit, cum in Italiam, ex qua profectus sum, reductus ex-  
 5 istimabor.' bello perfecto ab [h]is Caesar haec facta cognouit, 15  
 qui sermoni interfuerunt; conatus tamen nihilo minus est aliis  
 rationibus per conloquia de pace agere.

1 19. Inter bina castra Pompei atque Caesaris unum flumen  
 tantum intererat [t]Hapsus, crebraque inter se conloquia milites  
 habebant, neque ullum interim telum per pactiones loquen-  
 2 tium traiciebatur. mittit P. Vatinium legatum ad ripam ipsam  
 fluminis, qui ea, quae maxime ad pacem pertinere uiderentur, 5  
 ageret et crebro magna uoce pronuntiaret, liceretne ciuibus  
 ad ciues de pace suos legatos mittere, quod etiam fugitiuis  
 ab saltu Pyrenaeo pr<a>edonibusque licuisset, pr<a>esertim  
 cum id agerent, ne ciues cum ciuibus armis decertarent.  
 3 multa suppliciter locutus, ut de sua atque omnium salute 10  
 4 debebat, silentioque ab utrisque militibus auditus; responsum  
 est ab altera parte Aulum Varronem profiteri se altera die  
 ad conloquium uenturum atque una uisu[t]rum, que<m> ad  
 modum tuto legati uenire et, quae uellent, exponere possent;  
 5 certumque ei rei tempus constituitur. quo cum esset postero 15  
 die uentum, magna utrimque multitudo conuenit magnaque  
 erat expectatio eius rei atque omnium animi intenti esse ad  
 6 pacem uidebantur. qua ex frequentia Titus Labienus prodit,  
 sed missa oratione de pace altercari cum Vatinio incipit.

9 <cum> Gronov | pompeius D' U' V, T corr pōpeio T pr, om L | con-  
 sue(ę D)rat DU' consueuerat ELT' || 12 inquit D' LF' -d UT' ||  
 17 conloquia DLT coll- EU' V

19, 1 int̄ D' ut inter β || 2 tantum del Kraner | Apsus Aldo :  
 thapsus D' U' T t'apsus V tapsus L | conloquia DUT coll- ELFV ||  
 4 traiciebatur β icciebat<sup>2</sup> D ictiebat<sup>2</sup> E | uati(uatici V a. ras)niū β,  
 E corr uectiniū D' || 7 suos Brutus : duos D' LV .ii. F duo UT ||  
 8 pyreneo T pyreneo EFV, D corr pireneo DLU || 9 cum β ut D' ||  
 12 A. E' || 13 conloquium DUT coll- ELFV | uisurum, quem  
 Elberling : uis utrum(-un E)que || 16 utrimq; DLV iq; U' T  
 -inq; E || 19 sed missa Terpstra : summissa | de pace E loqui de  
 pace atque Dβ'



7 quorum mediam orationem interrumpunt subito undique tela 20  
inmissa; quae ille obiectus armis militum vitavit; vulnerantur  
tamen complures, in his Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Ti-  
8 burtius, centuriones militesque nonnulli. tum Labienus: 'de-  
sinite ergo de compositione loqui; nam nobis nisi Caesaris  
capite relato pax esse nulla potest.'

25

1       20. Isdem temporibus M. Caelius Rufus pr(aetor) causa  
debitorum suscepta initio magistratus tribunal suum iuxta C.  
Treboni, praet(or)is) urbani, sellam conlocavit et, si quis appel-  
lauisset de aestimatione et de solutionibus, quae per arbitrum  
fierent, ut Caesar pr(a)esens constituerat, fore auxilio polli- 5  
2 cebatur. sed fiebat aequitate decreti et humanitate Treboni,  
qui <his> temporibus clementer et moderat[a]e ius dicendum  
existimabat, ut reperiri non posse(n)t, a quibus initium ap-  
3 pellandi nasceretur. nam fortasse inopiam excusare et cala-  
mitatem aut propriam suam aut temporum queri et difficul- 10  
tates auctionandi proponere etiam mediocris est animi; inte-  
gras vero tenere possessiones, qui se debere fateantur, cuius  
4 animi aut cuius impudentiae est? itaque, hoc qui postularet,  
reperiebatur nemo. atque ipsis, ad quorum commodum per-  
5 tinebat, durior inuentus est Caelius. et ab hoc profectus 15  
initio, ne frustra ingressus turpem causam videretur, legem  
promulgavit, ut sexsenni die[s] sine usuris creditae pecuniae  
soluantur.

1       21. Cum resisteret Seruilius co(n)s(ul) reliquique magi-  
stratus et minus opinione sua efficeret, ad hominum excitanda  
studia sublata priore lege duas promulgavit, unam, qua mer-  
2 cedes habitationum annuas conductoribus donavit, aliam tabu-

20 mediã orationẽ *ET'* media orationẽ *D* media (-iã *L*<sup>2</sup>) oratione *L'* ||  
22 ploti' *LU* plotius *FT'* poltius *D* polliti' *E* || 24 cõnpositione *D*  
cõp- *Eβ*

20, 6 treboni *D* -bonii *E* -ba(bã *T*)ni *β* || 7 <his> *r* | moderate  
i' *L*<sup>2</sup> : moderata eius *β* moderat|eius *D* moderatius *E* || 8 reperiri  
*ELV* repperiri *DU'T* | possent *Vascosan* : posset || 10 aut porũ *D*  
aut temporum *Eβ* || 11 auction(m *D*)andi *D'LT'* actionandi *U'* ||  
14 reperiebatur *EUV* repp- *DLLT'* || 15 pfectus *β* -tis *D'* ||  
17 sexenni die *Manuzio* : sexies seni dies *β* se exisse ni dies *D'*

21, 2 efficeret *ELV* -re *DU'T* || 3 priori *V*

larum nouarum, impetuque multitudinis in C. Trebonium facto 5  
 3 et nonnullis uulneratis eum de tribunali deturbauit. de quibus  
 rebus Seruilius co(n)s(ul) ad senatum rettulit, senatusque  
 Caelium ab re p(ublica) remouendum censuit. hoc decreto  
 eum consul senatu prohibuit et contionarei conantem de  
 4 rostris deduxit. ille ignominia et dolore permotus palam se 10  
 proficisci ad Caesarem simulauit; clam nuntiis ad Milonem  
 missis, qui Clodio interfecto eo nomine erat damnatus, atque  
 eo in Italiam euocato, quod magnis muneribus datis gladia-  
 toriae familiae reliquias habebat, sibi coniunxit atque eum  
 5 in Thurinum ad sollicitandos pastores pr<a>emisit. ipse cum 15  
 Casilinum uenisset unoque tempore signa eius militaria atque  
 arma Capuae essent comprehensa et familia Neapoli uisa, quae  
 proditione(m) oppidi appararet, patefactis consiliis exclusus  
 Capua et periculum ueritus, quod conuentus arma ceperat  
 atque eum hostis loco habendum existimabat, consilio destitit 20  
 atque eo itinere sese auertit.

1 22. Interim Milo dimissis circum municipia litteris <se>  
 ea, quae faceret, iussu atque imperio facere Pompei, quae  
 mandata ad se per Vibullium delata essent, quos ex aere  
 2 alieno laborare arbitrabatur, sollicitabat. apud quos cum pro-  
 ficere nihil posset, quibusdam solutis ergastulis Co(m)p(sam) 5  
 in agro Hir(p)ino oppugnare coepit. eo cum a Q. Pedio prae-  
 tore cum legione <impediretur>, lapide ictus ex muro periit.  
 3 et Caelius profectus, ut dictitabat, ad Caesarem peruenit  
 Turios. ubi cum quosdam eius municipii sollicitaret equiti-  
 busque Caesaris Gallis atque Hispanis, qui eo pr<a>esidi causa 10

6 deturbauit *DLFT'* pturb- *E* ext<sup>de</sup>2b- *U* || 7 rettulit *D* retulit *Eβ* ||  
 9 contionare *E* cont(c *FT'*)ionari *Dβ* || 12 eo *Scaliger* : e(ē *D*)ius |  
 dānatus *ELU* dāpn- *DFT'* || 14 reliquias *V*, *L corr* reliquas *DL' T*  
 reliquas quas *E* || 17 cōpre(æ *D*)nsa *DT'* cōprehensa *EL* cōpressa  
*U' L corr* | uisa *β* uisu *D* uici *E* | quē *D'* q. *β*] atque *Beroaldo* ||  
 18 proditionem *Kraner* : pditione | appararet *Hofmann* : appareret  
*D' L<sup>2</sup>* apparere *β* || 19 capua *β* caput *D'* | ceperat *DLF* ceperat  
*EV* coeperat *UT*

22, 1 <se> *Kellerbauer* || 3 Vibullium *Orsini* : bibullium *Dβ* bi-  
 bullū *E* || 5 Compsam *Davies* : cosam || 6 Hirpino *Glandorp* : turino |  
 coepit *DUT* ceptit *EV* cepit *LF* || 7 <impediretur> *Buecheler* | piit *E*  
 perit *Dβ* || 8 celius *U' T* celius *ELV* coelius *D* || 9 quosdam (qsdās  
*F*) *β* costam *D* cosam *E* | municipii *om E* || 10 atque *β* & *E*, *om D* |  
 praesidii *Manuzio* : p̄dandi (p̄diçandi *L*)

missi erant, pecuniam polliceretur, ab his est interfectus.  
 4 ita magnarum initia rerum, quae occupatione magistratuum  
 et temporum sollicitam Italiam habebant, celerem et facilem  
 exitum habuerunt.

1       **23.** Libo profectus ab Orico cum classe, cui pr⟨a⟩eerat,  
 nauium L Brundisium uenit insulamque, quae contra portum  
 Brundisinum est, occupauit, quod praestare arbitrabatur unum  
 locum, qua necessarius nostris erat egressus, quam omnium  
 2 litora ac portus custodia clausos tueri. hic repentino aduentu 5  
 naues onerarias quasdam nactus incendit et unam frumento  
 onustam abduxit magnumque nostris terrorem iniecit, et noctu  
 militibus ac sagittariis in terra expositis praesidium equitum  
 deiecit et adeo loci oportunitate profecit, uti ad Pompeium  
 litteras mitteret, naues reliquas, si uellet, subduci et refici 10  
 iuberet; sua classe auxilia sese Caesaris prohibitorum.

1       **24.** Erat eo tempore Antonius Brundisi; ⟨is⟩ uirtute  
 militum confisus scaphas nauium magnarum circiter LX cra-  
 tibus pluteisque contexit eoque milites delectos imposuit atque  
 eas in litore pluribus locis separatim disposuit nauesque tri-  
 remes duas, quas Brundisi faciendas curauerat, per causam 5  
 2 exercendorum remigum ad fauceis portus prodire iussit. has  
 cum audacius progressas Libo uidisset, sperans intercipi posse  
 quadriremes v ad eas misit. quae cum nauibus nostris pro-  
 pinquassent, nostri ueterani in portum refugiebant, illi studio  
 3 incitati incautius sequebantur. iam ex omnibus partibus subito 10  
 Antonianae scaphae signo dato se in hostes incitauerunt  
 primoque impetu unam ex his quadriremem cum remigibus  
 defensoribusque suis ceperunt, reliquas turpiter refugere coege-

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13 et temporum] legitimorum *Dinter* | habebant *EF*<sup>2</sup>, *V p. ras* -bebat  
*DLF*<sup>1</sup>*T'*

**23**, 1 orico *EFT* oryco *DLUV* || 2 insulam β inlusam *D*  
 illusã *E* || 4 omnia *Nicaise* || 5 clausos β clausus *D'* || 7 onustam β  
 honustam *D'* || 9 adeo β adeum *D'* || 11 sese cae(ce *L*)saris *D' L'*  
 cē sese cęsaris *T* cęsaris sese *V* | prohibitorum β p̄hibitorus *D'*

**24**, 1 brundisi *U* -disii *FT'* -dusii *L* -disiū *D'* | ⟨is⟩ *Daehn* ||  
 3 imposuit *D'FV* ip- *L* inp- *UT* || 4 litore *D'U* littore *LFT'* ||  
 5 brundisi *DLUT* -ii *EFV* || 6 fauces portus β faucis portas *D'* ||  
 7 progressas β, *D corr* -us *D'* || 8 appropinquassent *r* || 10 iam] Nam  
*ED*<sup>2</sup> || 11 se β, *om* *D'* || 13 ceperunt *L'* cęperunt *ET'* coepe-  
 runt *D*



4 runt. ad hoc detrimentum accessit, ut equitibus per oram  
maritumam ab Antonio dispositis aquari prohiberentur. qua 15  
necessitate et ignominia permotus Libo discessit a Brundisio  
obsessionemque nostrorum omisit.

1 25. Multi iam menses erant et hiemps pr<a>ecipitauerat,  
neque Brundisio naues legionesque ad Caesarem ueniebant.  
ac nonnullae eius rei praetermissae occasiones Caesari uide-  
bantur, quod certe saepe flauerant uenti, quibus necessario  
2 committendum existimabat. quantoque eius amplius pro- 5  
cesserat temporis, tanto erant alacriores ad custodias, qui  
classibus pr<a>eerant, maioremque fiduciam prohibendi habe-  
bant, et crebris Pompei litteris castigabantur, quoniam primo  
uenientem Caesarem non prohibuissent, ut reliquos eius exer-  
citus impedirent, duriusque cotidie tempus ad transportandum 10  
3 lenioribus uentis expectabant. quibus rebus permotus Caesar  
Brundisium ad suos seuerius scripsit, nacti idoneum uentum  
ne occasionem nauigandi dimitterent, siue ad litora Apollo-  
4 niatium cursum dirigere atque eo naues e[ ]licere possent. haec  
a custodiis classium loca maxime uacabant, quod se longius 15  
<a> portibus committere non auderent.

1 26. Illi adhibita audacia et uirtute administrantibus M.  
Antonio et Fufio Caleno, multum ipsis militibus hortantibus  
neque ullum periculum pro salute Caesaris recusantibus, nacti  
Austrum naues soluunt atque altero die Apolloniam [Dyr-  
2 rachium] pr<a>eter uehuntur. qui cum essent ex continenti 5  
uisi, [Q.] Coponius, qui Dyrrachi classi Rhodiae pr<a>eerat,  
naues ex portu educit, et cum iam nostri<s> remissione uento  
adpropinquasse[n]t, idem Auster increbuit nostrisque pr<a>e-

14 orā maritimā *L* ora (hora *D*) marituma *DT* ora maritima *EU' V* ||  
17 obsessionē *D' U' T* obsidionē *LV*

25, 1 erant] transierant *E* | hiemps *DV* hyemps *T* hiems *EL'* ||  
4 certi *Gronov* || 9 ut] at *Kraffert* || 13 occassionē *DU* occasionem  
*ELFT'* || 14 eicere *Aldo* : eligere *D'U' V* eligere *T* dirigigere  
eligere *L* || 15 custodiis *Chacon* : custodibus || 16 <a> *Vossius* |  
audebant *V*

26, 4 dyrrachiū *D'* dirrachium  $\beta$ , del *Elberling* || 6 q̄ (*D* .q. *U*  
q *F* *Q*. *L*) *DL' M. E*, om *T'* | dyrrachi *DU* dyrrachii *EV* dir-  
rachi *L* dirrachii *F* di<sup>r</sup>rachi *T* || 7 nr̄is *L*<sup>2</sup> *F*<sup>2</sup> : nr̄i || 8 adpropin-  
quasset *Vascosan* : adp(appro *ELV*)pinquassent | increbuit *D'LT'* in-  
crebuit *U' V*

3 sidio fuit. neque uero ille ob eam causam conatu desistebat,  
sed labore et perseuerantia nautarum [et] uim tempestatis 10  
superarei posse sperabat praeter uectosque Dyrrachium magna  
4 ui uenti nihilo setius sequebatur. nostri usi Fortunae bene-  
ficio tamen impetum classis timebant, si forte uentus remi-  
sisset. nacti portum, qui appellatur Nymph<a>eum, ultra  
Lissum mil(ia) pass(um) III, eo naues intro duxerunt (qui 15  
portus ab Africo tegebatur, ab Austro non erat tutus) leuius-  
5 que tempestatis quam classis periculum aestimauerunt. quo  
simul atque intro est itum, incredibili felicitate Auster, qui  
per biduum flauerat, in Africum se uertit.

1 27. Hic subitam commutationem Fortunae uidere licuit.  
qui modo sibi timuerant, hos tutissimus portus recipiebat;  
qui nostris nauibus periculum intulerant, de suo timere co-  
2 gebantur. itaque tempore commutato tempestas et nostros  
textit et naues Rhodias adflixit, ita ut ad unam omnes con- 5  
stratae numero XVI eliderentur et naufragio interirent, et ex  
magno remigum propugnatorumque numero pars ad scopulos  
adlisa interficeretur, pars ab nostris detraheretur; quos omnes  
conseruatos Caesar domum remisit.

1 28. Nostrae naues duae tardius cursu confecto in noctem  
coniectae, cum ignorarent, quem locum reliquae cepissent,  
2 contra Lissum in ancoris constiterunt. has scaphis minori-  
busque nauigiis compluribus summissis Otacilius Crassus,

10 et] se *L*, del *Dinter* || 11 superari<sup>e</sup> *L* superari *D' U' T'* | dyrrachiū  
*DL' V* dirrachiiū *ET* || 16 leuiusque  $\beta$  Leuisq; *D* Leuis quoq; *E* ||  
17 tempestatis  $\beta$  potestatis *D'* | e(e *DL'*)stimauerunt (estim | *F'*) *D' L' T*  
existimauerūt *V*

27, 2 tutissimus  $\beta$ , *E corr* -mos *D'* | recipiebat *E* reiciebat *D\beta* ||  
3 intulerant  $\beta$  -runt *D'* || 4 tempore cō(c̄ *F'*)mutato (c̄tinuato *F'*)  
*E pr*  $\beta$  tēpora cōmutata *D* tēpore cōmutatō<sup>a?</sup> *E* || 5 om̄s constrate (e  
*UV*)  $\beta$  om̄s contrate *D* contracte om̄s *E* || 6 numero xvi  $\beta$  numeros  
x · ii · i · *D* numero cxiii · *E* || 8 pars ab *U' T'* prars ad *D* pars a *EL* |  
detraheret<sup>2</sup> *E* distraheretur *D\beta* || 9 remisit *D' L'* ~~redit~~ remisit *T*  
dimisit *V*

28, 1 confecto  $\beta$  confleto *D* cōpleto *E* || 2 cepissent *LF* cepis-  
sent *EV* coepissent *DUT* || 3 lissum *EV* lisum *DL'* lysū *T* | an-  
coris *D* anchoris *E\beta* || 4 suis missis *Paul* | sūmissis octacilius *D'*  
sūmis (sūptis *L corr*) octacilius *L'* sūmisso . | taliciū *T* sūmissis . t .  
aciliū<sup>s</sup> *V* | crassus *T'* grassus *D' L'*

qui Lissi pr⟨a⟩cerat, expugnare parabat; simul de deditioe 5  
 3 eorum agebat et incolumitatem deditis pollicebatur. harum  
 altera nauis CCXX e legione tironum sustulerat, altera ex  
 4 ueterana paulo minus CC. hic cognosci licuit, quantum esset  
 hominibus pr⟨a⟩esidii in animi firmitudine. tirones enim  
 multitudine nauium perterriti et salo nausiaque confecti iure 10  
 iurando accepto nihil [h]is nocituros hostes se O[c]tacilio de-  
 diderunt; qui omnes ad eum producti contra religionem iuris  
 5 iurandi in eius conspectu crudelissime interficiuntur. at uete-  
 ranae legionis milites, item conflictati et tempestatis et sen-  
 tinae uitii, neque ex pristina uirtute remittendum aliquid 15  
 putauerunt, [s]et tractandis conditionibus et simulatione de-  
 ditionis extracto primo noctis tempore gubernatorem in terram  
 6 nauem eicere cogunt, ipsi idoneum locum nacti reliquam  
 noctis partem ibi confecerunt et luce prima missis ad eos ab  
 Otacilio equitibus, qui eam partem orae maritumae adserua- 20  
 bant, circiter CCCC, quique eos armati ex pr⟨a⟩esidio secuti  
 sunt, se defenderunt et nonnullis eorum interfectis incolumes  
 se ad nostros receperunt.

1        29. Quo facto conuentus ciuium Romanorum, qui Lissum  
 obtinebant, quod oppidum is antea Caesar adtribuerat munien-  
 dumque curauerat, Antonium recipit omnibusque rebus iuuat.  
 Otacilius sibi timens ⟨ex⟩ oppido fugit et ad Pompeium per-  
 2 uenit. ex⟨positis⟩ omnibus copiis Antonius, quarum erat 5  
 summa ueteranarum trium legionum uniusque tironum et  
 equitum DCCC, plerasque naues in Italiam remittit ad reli-  
 3 quos milites equitesque transportandos, pontones, quod est

5 lissi *D' LU*, *V sup. lin.* lisi *F* lisi *T* || 7 e legione β & legionē *D'*  
 tironū *L* tyronū *D' T'* || 8 hic *Aldo* : his || 9 tirones — 10 nauium] *Nā cū L*  
 tirones *U' V* tyrones *D' T* || 10 nausea *V* || 11 octa(octo *T pr*)cilio β  
 octocilio *T pr* octlicio *D* octalicio *E* || 13 conspectu *V -tū D' L' T* ||  
 14 item *L<sup>2</sup>* : idem || 16 et *Morus* : sed | conditionib. β *E* condicioni-  
 bus *D* || 17 extracto β -ta *D'* | gubernatorem *ELFV -to.<sup>10</sup> U -to.†*  
*DT* || 18 idoneū β ideneū *D* idē eū *E* || 20 otacilio *T'* octacilio *L'*  
 octalicio *D'* | mari(ma<sup>ri</sup> *D*)tume *DT* maritimę (-e *U*) *EL' V*

29, 1 qui — 2 obtinebant *om V* | lissum *D' LUT* *lisū* *F* || 2 qđ β,  
*om D'* | is *UT* iis *D'* his *LFV* || 3 recipit *D' L' T* recepit *V* |  
 iuuat *LF*, *U corr* iuuat *D* iuuat *EUT*, 5 *litterarum spatium in V* ||  
 4 otacilius *V* octacilius *U' T* Ottauli' *L* octalicius *D'* | ⟨ex⟩ *Nip-*  
*perdey* || 5 expositis *Estaco* : ex || 6 tironū *L' T* tyronū *D' V*



genus nauium Gallicarum, Lissi relinquit, hoc consilio, ut si forte Pompeius uacuum existimans Italiam eo traiecisset 10 exercitum, quae opinio erat edita in uulgu[s], aliquam Caesar ad insequendum facultatem haberet, nuntiosque ad eum ce- lriter mittit, quibus regionibus exercitum exposuisset et quid militum transuexisset.

1       **30.** Haec eodem fere tempore Caesar atque Pompeius cognoscunt. nam praeter uectas Apolloniam Dyrrachiumque naues uiderant, ipsi iter secundum eas terra[s] direxerant, sed 2 quo essent eae delatae, primis diebus ignorabant. cognitaque re diuersa sibi ambo consilia capiunt: Caesar, ut quam primum 5 se cum Antonio coniungeret, Pompeius, ut uenientibus in itinere se opponeret, et si imprudentes ex insidiis adoriri posset; 3 eodemque die uterque eorum ex castris statiu[s] a flumine [t]Hapso exercitum educunt, Pompeius clam et noctu, Caesar 4 palam atque interdium. sed Caesari circuitu maiore iter erat 10 longius, aduerso flumine, ut uado transire posset; Pompeius, quia expedito itinere flumen ei transeundum non erat, magnis 5 itineribus ad Antonium contendit, atque ubi eum adpropinquare cognouit, idoneum locum nactus ibi copias collocauit suosque omnes castris continuit ignesque fieri prohibuit, quo 15 6 occultior esset eius aduentus. haec ad Antonium statim per Gr<a>ecos deferuntur. ille missis ad Caesarem nuntiis unum diem sese castris tenuit; altero die ad eum peruenit Caesar. 7 cuius aduentu cognito Pompeius, ne duobus circumcluderetur exercitibus, ex eo loco discedit omnibusque copiis ad Aspara- 20 gium Dyrrachinorum peruenit atque ibi idoneo loco castra ponit.

9 lisi *F*<sup>1</sup> || 11 opinio *EL'* oppinio *DT'* || 12 eū  $\beta$  eos *D'* || 13 quid *D'L'* qui *T'*

**30**, 3 ipsi iter (ter *D*) — direxerant *del* *Kraffert* | scdm <sup>ad</sup> *eas F* | terra *Scaliger* : terras || 4 eae *U* ea<sup>o</sup> *F* heç *L* h<sup>e</sup>ç *T*, om *V* ecce *D'* || 6 in  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 9 Apso *Aldo* : thapso *DL'T* tapso *EV* || 12 flumen ei] flumine *D* || 13 ubi eū *DL'* eū ub(úb *in ras E*)i *ET* eū *V* | adppinquare *DU'* approp- *ELT'* || 14 ibi] sibi *T'* | collocauit *D'FV* colloquauit *L* conlocauit *U* clocaū *T* || 16 ad om *T'* | per —18 peruenit om *D'* || 20 asparagiū  $\beta$  hasparagium *D* hasparagiū *E* || 21 dyrrachinorum *DUV* dirrachin (u *L pr*)-*ELFT'* || 22 ponit —31, 2 appellauerat] locauerat *E*

1       **31.** His temporibus Scipio detrimentis quibusdam circa  
 2 montem Amanum acceptis imperatorem se appellauerat. quo  
 facto ciuitatibus tyrannisque magnas imperauerat pecunias,  
 item a publicanis suae prouinciae debitam biennii pecuniam  
 exegerat et ab eisdem insequentis anni mutuam pr<a>eceperat 5  
 3 equitesque toti prouinciae imperauerat. quibus coactis, fini-  
 titimis hostibus Parthis pos se relictis, qui paulo ante M. Cras-  
 sum imperatorem interfecerant et M. Bibulum in obsidione  
 4 habuerant, legiones equitesque ex Syria deduxerat. summam-  
 que in sollicitudinem ac timorem Parthici belli prouincia 10  
 cum uenisset, ac nonnullae militum uoces cum audirentur  
 sese, contra hostem si ducerentur, ituros, contra ciuem et  
 consulem arma non laturos, deductis Pergamum atque in  
 locupletissimas urbes in hiberna legionibus maximas largi-  
 tiones fecit et confirmandorum militum causa diripiendas his 15  
 ciuitates dedit.

1       **32.** Interim acerbissime imperatae pecuniae tota pro-  
 uincia exigebantur. multa pr<a>eterea generatim ad auaritiam  
 2 excogitabantur. in capita singula seruorum ac liberorum  
 tributum imponebatur; columnaria, ostiaria, frumentum, milites,  
 arma, remiges, tormenta, uecturae imperabantur; cuius modo 5  
 rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas pecu-  
 3 nias uidebatur. non solum urbibus, sed paene uicis castellis-  
 que singulis cum imperio pr<a>eficiebantur. qui horum quid  
 acerbissime crudelissimeque fecerat, is et uir et ciuis optimus  
 4 habebatur. erat plena lictorum et imperiorum prouincia, 10

**31,** 2 Qđ *D* || 3 tyrānis *E* tyrannis *UT'* tyrannis *D* tirannis  
*LF* || 4 a (ad *LT* á *V*) publicanis β apollicanis *D'* || 5 eisdē *E* his-  
 dem *DL'* isdē *T'* || 7 parthis *ELT* part'is *F* partis *DUV* | pos *DT*  
 p<sup>o</sup> *L* post *EU'V* | .M. β, om *D'* || 9 ex syria *D'U* ex siria *LFT*,  
 om *V* | summā . . . sollicitudinē . . . timorē *V* summa . . . sollicitudine  
 . . . timore *L'TD'* || 10 parthici *EU'T* part'ici *L* partici *DV* || 14 lar-  
 gitiones β legiones *D'*

**32,** 3 capita β apia *D'* || 4 imponebatur *D'LU* ĩp- *F* ĩp- *T'* |  
 ostiaria *L'T* ho- *D'V* || 5 ĩm *V* modi *D'L'T* || 6 reperiri *ELV* repp-  
*DU'T* || 10 plena lictorū & imperiorū puincia *D* plena puincia lictoꝝ  
 & ĩpioꝝ *E* p̄tea plena lictoꝝ & ĩpioꝝ puincia *L* plena lictorū et  
 ĩpioꝝ (ĩpiorū *F'*) puincia *U'* plane lictoꝝ & imperioꝝ puincia *T*  
 plena lictoꝝ puincia *V* | imperiorum] apparitorum *Forchhammer*

differta pr⟨a⟩efectis atque exactoribus, qui praeter imperatas pecunias suo etiam priuato conpendio seruiebant: dictitabant enim se domo patriaque expulsos omnibus necessariis egere rebus, ut honesta pr⟨a⟩escriptione rem turpissimam tegerent. 5 accedebant ad haec grauissimae usurae, quod in bello plerum- 15 que accidere consuevit uniuersis imperatis pecuniis; quibus in rebus prolationem diei donationem esse dicebant. itaque 6 aes alienum prouinciae eo biennio multiplicatum est. neque minus ob eam causam ciuibus R(omanis) eius prouinciae, sed in singulos conuentus singulasque ciuitates certae pecuniae 20 imperabantur, mutuasque | illas | ex | se(natus)consulto exigi dictitabant; publicanis, ut in *Suria* fecerant, insequentis anni uestigial promutuom.

1 **33.** Praeterea Ephesi a fano Dianae depositas antiquitus pecunias Scipio tolle*i* iubebat. certa*que* ei ⟨rei⟩ die[i] constituta cum in fanum uentum esset adhibitis compluribus ordinis senatorii, quos aduocauerat Scipio, litterae ei redduntur a Pompeio, mare transisse cum legionibus Caesarem; 5 properaret ad se cum exercitu uenire omniaque post [ea 2 quae] haberet. his litteris acceptis, quos aduocauerat, dimittit; ipse iter in Macedoniam parare incipit paucisque post diebus est profectus. haec res Ephesiae pecuniae salutem adtulit. 10

1 **34.** Caesar Antoni exercitu coniuncto deducta Orico legione, quam tuendae orae maritimae causa posuerat, temptan- 2 das sibi prouincias longiusque procedendum existimabat; et cum ad eum ex Thessalia Aetoliaque legati uenissent, qui

11 differta β dif(dis E)erta D' | praefectis Aldo : p̄ceptis || 12 cōpendio D conpendio V cōpendio EU' T impio conpendio L || 21 illas ex senatus Aldo : ex illo se (sé T) || 22 in Syria Estienne : insorte β in (om E) forte D' || 23 p̄mutuū β p̄motuū D p̄motū E

**33,** 1 fano D' L T phano U' V || 2 Scipio —4 Scipio om V | tolli —4 Scipio om T | tolli iubebat EL' tolli uidebat D | certa*que* ei rei die *Estação* : ce(çę E)tera*q.* eius diei || 3 fanū D' L phanū (-no U) U' || 4 (post Scipio) tolli iubebat (tollit iubebat E) ce(çę D)tera*q.*; eius (ęius D) diei *repetunt* D' | litterę (e LT) ei reddunt<sup>2</sup> (tradunt<sup>2</sup> V) β redduntur (reddunt<sup>2</sup> E) ei litterę (-elitter D) D' || 6 postea quę (que F) U' T' || L post ea q; D pôst, ea E | ea quae *del Aldo* || 10 adtulit D att- Eβ

**34,** 1 orico DF origo UT oryco ELV || 2 maritimę UT maritudine D maritimę ELFV || 4 thessalia EL' V thesa- DT | aetolia DT et- U' ęth- ELV



pr<a>esidio misso pollicerentur earum gentium ciuitates im- 5  
perata facturas, L. Cassium Longinum cum legione tironum,  
quae appellabatur XXVII, atque equitibus CC in Thessaliam  
[ire], C. Caluisium Sabinum cum cohortibus V paucisque  
equitibus in Aetoliam misit; maxime eos, quod erant pro-  
pinquae regiones, de re frumentaria ut prouiderent, hortatus 10  
3 est. Cn. Domitium Caluinum cum legionibus duabus, XI et  
4 XII, et equitibus D in Macedoniam proficisci iussit; cuius pro-  
uinciae ab ea parte, quae libera appellabatur, Menedemus,  
princeps earum regionum, missus legatus omnium suorum  
excellens studium profitebatur. 15

1 35. Ex his Caluisius primo aduentu summa omnium  
Aetolorum receptus uoluntate pr<a>esidiis aduersariorum Caly-  
2 done et Naupacto reiectis omni Aetolia potitus est. Cassius  
in Thessaliam cum legione peruenit. hic cum essent factiones  
duae, uaria uoluntate ciuitatum utebatur: Hegesaretos, ueteris 5  
homo potentiae, Pompeianis rebus studebat; Petraeus, summae  
nobilitatis adulescens, suis ac suorum opibus Caesarem enixe  
iuuabat.

1 36. Eodemque tempore Domitius in Macedoniam uenit;  
et cum ad eum frequentes ciuitatum legationes conuenire  
coepissent, nuntiatum est adesse Scipionem cum legionibus,  
magna opinione et fama omnium; nam plerumque in nouitate  
2 fama ante cedit. hic nullo in loco Macedoniae moratus magno 5  
impetu tetendit ad Domitium et, cum ab eo mil(ia) pas-  
s(um) XX afuisset, subito se ad Cas(sium) Longinum in

6 tironum *DL'* tyronū *ET'* || 7 thessaliā *EV*, *L corr* thessalum

*DL'* thessalum *T* || 8 ire] iubet ire *E*, *del Aldo* | caluisiū *β* <sup>1</sup>cauāui-  
sium *D* cabauisiū *E*

35, 1 caluisius *Dβ* cabau- *E* || 2 etolorum *U'* aeth(aetn *D*)olo-  
rum (a&horū *T*) *D'LT'* | Calydone : calidone || 3 naupacto *β* nauptato  
*D'* | reiectis *Vascosan* : relictis *DU'T'* relictis *L* receptis *E* | omī  
etolia *U'* Omī aetholya *D* omī aetholia *ELT'* || 4 thessaliā *β* tes-  
salliam *D* tessaliā *E* | Hic *β* His *D'* || 5 ciuitatiū *DLU* -ciū *T'* -tū  
*F*, *om E* | hegesaretos *LT'* eg- *U'* haeg- *D'* || 6 Petraeus *Chacon* :  
petreius *β* prae(pre *E*)teus *D'* || 7 adulescens *D* ado- *Eβ*

36, 2 ciuitatiū *EUT*, *L corr* -cium *DV* -tū *LF* | legationes *EV*  
legiones *DL'T* || 3 coepissent *DU* ce- *ET* ce- *LFV* | legionibus  
*Loriti* : legione || 5 <rem> antecedit *Chacon* || 6 tetendit *L'* tendit  
*D'T'* cōtendit *r* || 7 afuisset *DU*, *L corr* abf- *EV* aff- *LFT* | in  
the(te *F*)ssaliam *D'L'* in thessaliā *T*, *om V*

3 Thessaliam conuertit. hoc adeo celeriter fecit, ut simul ad-  
 esse et uenire nuntiaretur, et quo iter expeditius faceret, M.  
 Fauonium ad flumen Al<ia>cm<sup>o</sup>nem, quod Macedoniam a 10  
 Thessalia diuidit, cum cohortibus viii pr<a>esidio impedi-  
 mentis legionum reliquit castellumque ibi muniri iussit.  
 4 eodem tempore equitatus regis Cotyis ad castra Cassi ad-  
 5 uolauit, qui circum Thessaliam esse consuerat. tum timore  
 perterritus Cassius cognito Scipionis aduentu uisisque equiti- 15  
 bus, quos Scipionis esse arbitrabatur, ad montes se conuertit,  
 qui Thessaliam cingunt, atque ex his locis Ambrac[h]iam uersus  
 6 iter facere coepit. at Scipionem properantem sequi litterae  
 sunt consecutae a M. Fauonio, Domitium cum legionibus ad-  
 esse neque se pr<a>esidium, ubi constitutus esset, sine auxilio 20  
 7 Scipionis tenere posse. quibus litteris acceptis consilium  
 Scipio iterque commutat; Cassium sequi desistit, Fauonio  
 8 auxilium ferre contendit. itaque die ac nocte continuato  
 itinere ad eum peruenit, tam oportuno tempore, ut simul  
 Domitiani exercitus puluis cerneretur et primi antecursores 25  
 Scipionis uiderentur. ita Cassio industria Domiti, Fauonio  
 Scipionis celeritas salutem adtulit.

1 **37.** Scipio biduom castris statiuis moratus ad flumen,  
 quod inter eum et Domiti castra fluebat, Ali[s]acmonem, tertio  
 die prima luce exercitum uado traducit et castris positus  
 postero die mane copias ante frontem castrorum struit.  
 2 Domitius tum quoque sibi dubitandum non putauit, quin pro-  
 ductis legionibus pr<o>elio decertaret. sed cum esset inter  
 bina castra campus circiter mil(ium) pas(sum) vi, Domitius  
 castris Scipionis aciem suam subiecit, ille a uallo non disce-  
 3 dere perseuerauit. at tamen aegre retenteis Domitianis mili-

8 adeo (aeo D) D' ideo β | ut D' V, om L' T | simul β, om D' ||  
 10 fauoniū E pr fabonium Dβ, E corr | Haliacmonem Aldo : alcmonem ||  
 12 legionum Lotichi : legionis || 13 Cotyis Nipperdey : cottis (cotti E) ||  
 14. 17 thessaliā D' LV tess- U' T || 14 consuerat DFT' -euerat ELU ||  
 Tū L' Cū DT' Tunc E || 17 abrachiā L || 18 coepit DU ce- ET'  
 ce- LF || 19. 22 fabonio U' || 20 se β, om D' || 21 posse β, om D' ||  
 26 domiti DU domitii ET' domitii . domitiō L domitii F || 27 ad-  
 tulit D att- Eβ

**37**, 1 biduū Dβ biduo in E || 2 domiti DU -t(c E)ii ELFT' ||  
 Haliacmonem Aldo : alysaicā D alisicā E alisaicā (-am T) LFT'  
 alisaicā U, del Kraffert || 4 instruit cod. Leid. 38 || 7 vi] II Stoffel ||  
 8 uallo r : ualle | discedere β descendere D' || 9 retentes D -tis Eβ

tibus est factum, ne proelio contenderetur, et maxime, quod 10  
 riuus difficilibus ripis subiectus castris Scipionis progres-  
 4 sus nostrorum impediēbat. quorum studium alacritatemque  
 pugnandi cum cognouisset Scipio, suspicatus fore ut postero  
 die aut inuitus dimicare cogēretur aut magna cum infamia  
 castris se contineret, qui magna expectatione uenisset, 15  
 temere progressus turpem habuit exitum et noctu neque  
 conclamatis quidem uasis flumen transiit atque in eandem  
 partem, ex qua uenerat, redit ibique prope flumen edito  
 5 natura loco castra posuit. paucis diebus interpositis noctu  
 insidias equitum conlocauit, quo in loco superioribus fere 20  
 diebus nostri pabulari consuerant; et cum cotidiana consue-  
 tudine Q. Varus, praef(ectus) eq(uitum) Domitii, uenisset,  
 6 subito illi ex insidiis consurrexerunt. sed nostri fortiter im-  
 petum eorum tulerunt celeriterque ad suos quisque ordines  
 7 redit atque ultro uniuersi in hostes impetum fecerunt. ex 25  
 his circiter LXXX interfectis, reliquis in fugam coniectis, duo-  
 bus amissis in castra se receperunt.

1 38. His rebus gestis Domitius sperans Scipionem ad  
 pugnam elici posse simulauit sese angustiis rei frumentariae  
 adductum castra mouere uasisque militari more conclamatis  
 progressus mil(ia) pas(sum) III loco idoneo et occulto omnem  
 2 exercitum equitatumque conlocauit. Scipio ad sequendum pa- 5  
 ratus equit[at]um magnam partem ad explorandum iter Do-  
 3 mitii et cognoscendum pr(a)emisit. qui cum essent pro-  
 gressi primaeque turmae insidias intrauissent, ex fremitu  
 equorum inlata suspicione ad suos se recipere coeperunt,  
 quique hos sequebantur, celerem eorum receptum con- 10  
 4 spicati restiterunt. nostri | hostium, | cognitis | insidiis ne  
 frustra reliquos expectarent, duas nacti turmas exceperunt.

15 magna] cū magna *E* || 17 transit *EL* || 18 redit *D' L' T* rediit *V* ||  
 20 conlocauit *D* coll- *Eβ* || 21 consuerant *DUT* -euerant *ELFV* ||  
 23 illi *β*, om *D'* || 25 redit *ELT* reddit *D* rediit *V*

38, 2 angustiis *D'LT'* in angustiis *U'* || 3 adductū *β* ad-  
 ductus *D'* | militarib<sub>s</sub> *T'* || 4 loco *D'UT'* in loco *LF* || 5 con-  
 locauit *D* coll- *Eβ* || 6 equitum magnam *Nipperdey* : e(ē *V*)quitatū  
 magnāq. (magnā *V*) || 8 turmę (-e *D*) *D' L' -bę T'* || 9 inlata *U' T*  
 illata *LV* inlata *D* incassa *E* | coeperunt *DUT* cę- *EV* ce- *LF* ||  
 11 hostium, cognitis *Buecheler* : cognitis hostium



in his fu<g>it M. Opimius pr(aefectus) eq(uitum). reliquos omnes earum turmarum aut interfecerunt aut captos ad Domitium deduxerunt.

15

1       **39.** Deductis orae maritimae pr(a)esidiis Caesar, ut supra demonstratum est, III cohortes Orici oppidi tuendi causa reliquit isdemque custodiam nauium longarum tradidit, quas ex Italia transduserat. huic officio oppidoque <M.'> [c]Acilius le-  
2 g(atus) pr(a)eerat. is naues nostras interiorem in portum 5  
post oppidum reduxit et ad terram deligauit faucibusque portus nauem onerariam submersam obiecit et huic alteram coniunxit; super qua[s] turrem effectam ad ipsum introitum portus opposuit et militibus conpleuit tuendamque ad omneis repentinis casus tradidit.

10

1       **40.** Quibus cognitis rebus Cn. Pompeius filius, qui classi Aegyptiae pr(a)eerat, ad Oricum uenit submersamque nauem remulco multisque contendens funibus adduxit atque alteram nauem, quae erat ad custodiam ab Acilio posita, pluribus adgressus nauibus, in quibus ad libram fecerat turres, ut ex 5  
superiori pugnans loco integrosque semper defatigatis summittens et reliquis partibus simul ex terra scalis et classe moenia oppidi temptans, uti aduersariorum manus diduceret, labore et multitudine telorum nostros uicit defectisque defensoribus, qui omnes scaphis excepti refugerant, eam nauem 10  
2 expugnauit. eodemque tempore ex altera parte molem tenuit naturalem obiectam, qu(a)e paene insulam oppidum effecerat; III biremes subiectis scutulibus impulsas uectibus in interioribus, qui omnes scaphis excepti refugerant, eam nauem 10  
3 rem portum traduxit. ita ex utraque parte naues longas

13 in his fuit] unus fugit *Roscher*

**39**, 2 orici *DFT* oryci *ELUV* || 4 <M.'> *Achaintre* | Acilius *Faerno* : caninius *D'* caninianus  $\beta$  || 5 nostras]  $\tilde{n}ri$  *T'* | portum *Chacon* : partē || 7 nauī *E* || 8 qua *Manuzio* : quas | turri *ET* || 9 conpleuit *DV* com- *EL'T* | om̄s *D'LV* oēs *U* om̄is *FT*

**40**, 2 oricū *DU'T* ory- *ELV* || 2. 4. 10 nauī *E* || 3 remulco —4 nauem *om V* || 3 funib. *EL'* fi- *DT* | abduxit *Davies* || 4 adgressus *DU'T* agg- *ELV* || 8 moenia *DU* mē- *ET* me- *LFV* | diduceret *L'T* ded- *D'V* || 9 deiectis *Vossius* || 10 eam] etiā *L'* || 11 ex *LV* et *D'U'T* | altera parte  $\beta$  altera partē *D* -rā partē *E* || 12 obiectam  $\beta$  obiectum *D'* | pene  $\beta$  poene *D* pone *E* || 13 impulsas *DUT* ip- *F* impulsas (-sas in ras *E*) *ELV* || 14 portum *Chacon* : partē | transduxit *L*

adgressus, quae erant deligatae ad terram atque inanes, III ex 15  
 4 his abduxit, reliquas incendit. hoc confecto negotio D. Lae-  
 lium ab Asiatica classe abductum reliquit, qui commeatus  
 Byllide atque <A>manti[ne]a importari in oppidum prohibe-  
 5 bat. ipse Lissum profectus naues onerarias xxx a M. An-  
 tonio relictas intra portum adgressus omnes incendit; Lissum 20  
 expugnare conatus defendentibus ciu(ibus) R(omanis), qui eius  
 conuentus erant, militibusque, quos pr<a>esidii causa miserat  
 Caesar, triduum moratus paucis in oppugnatione amissis re  
 infecta inde discessit.

1 41. Caesar postquam Pompeium ad Asparagium esse  
 cognouit, eodem cum exercitu profectus expugnato in itinere  
 oppido Parthinorum, in quo Pompeius pr<a>esidium habebat,  
 tertio die [Macedoniam] ad Pompeium peruenit iuxtaque eum  
 castra posuit et postridie eductis omnibus copiis acie in- 5  
 2 structa decernendi potestatem Pompeio fecit. ubi illum suis  
 locis se tenere animum aduertit, reducto in castra exercitu  
 3 aliud sibi consilium capiendum existimauit. itaque postero  
 die omnibus copiis magno circuitu difficili angustoque itinere  
 Dyrrachium profectus est sperans Pompeium aut Dyrrachium 10  
 compelli aut ab eo intercludi posse, quod omnem commeatum  
 4 totiusque belli adparatum eo contulisset; ut accidit. Pompeius  
 enim primo ignorans eius consilium, quod diuerso ab ea  
 regione itinere profectum uidebat, angustiis rei frumentariae  
 compulsus discessisse existimabat; postea per exploratores 15  
 certior factus postero die castra mouit breuiore itinere se  
 5 occurrere ei posse sperans. quod fore suspicatus Caesar

15 adgressus *DU'T* agg- *ELV* | deligatę *EF* deli(dele *T*)gate *T'* de-  
 licatę (-e *D*) *DLU* | inanes  $\beta$  inaues *D* innaues *E* || 16 abduxit *V* ad-  
 duxit *D'L'T* || 18 Byllide *Estienne* : byblide *LV* biblide ( $\epsilon$  *U*) *U'T*  
 hibilide *D'* | Amantia *Lotichi* : mantinea | importari *D'LV* inp- *U'T* ||  
 20 adgressus *DF* aggre- *EUT'* ag- *L* | lisum *D* || 23 obpugnatione *D*  
 opp- *EU'V* oppugnatione <sup>(2)</sup>*T* expugnatione *L*

41, 2 in *D'V*, om *L'T* || 3 parthinoꝝ *V* partinorum *D'L'T* ||  
 4 mace(mache- *L*)doniam del *Forchhammer* || 5 postridie *UF*<sup>2</sup> p' tridie  
*LT* post tridie *V* postero die *F*<sup>1</sup> post triduę *D* post triduū *E* ||  
 6 fecit  $\beta$  dedit *D'* || 7 animū aduertit *D'UT* animaduertit *LFV* ||  
 8 sibi  $\beta$ , om *D'* | capiundū *D'F*<sup>2</sup> capiendū  $\beta$  || 10 bis dyrrachium (-ū  
*alt. loco*) *D'UV* dirrachiu *LFT* || 11 aut] ut *T'* || 12 adparatū *DUT*  
 app- *ELFV* || 13 enī  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 14 pfectōm *D*

militisque adhortatus, ut aequo animo laborem ferrent, parua parte noctis itinere intermisso mane Dyrrachium uenit, cum primum agmen Pompei procul cerneretur, atque ibi castra 20 posuit.

- 1 42. Pompeius interclusus Dyrrachio, ubi propositum tenere non potuit, secundo usus consilio edito loco, qui appellatur Petra aditumque habet nauibus mediocrem atque cas 2 a quibusdam protegit uentis, castra communit. eo partem nauium longarum conuenire, frumentum commeatumque ab 5 Asia atque omnibus regionibus, quas tenebat, comportare*i* 3 imperat. Caesar longius bellum ductuiri existimans et de Italicis commeatibus desperans, quod tanta diligentia omnia litora a Pompeianis tenebantur classesque ipsius, quas hieme in Sicilia, Gallia, Italia fecerat, morabantur, in Epirum rei 10 frumentariae causa Q. Tillium et L. Canuleium legatum misit, quodque hae regiones aberant longius, locis certis horrea constituit uecturasque frumenti finitimis ciuitatibus descripsit. 4 item Lisso Parthinisque et omnibus castellis, quod esset fru- 5 menti, conquiri iussit. id erat perexiguum cum ipsius agri 15 natura, quod sunt loca aspera ac montuosa ac plerumque frumento utuntur inportato, tum quod Pompeius haec prouiderat et superioribus diebus praedae loco Parthinos habuerat frumentumque omne conquisitum spoliatis effossisque eorum domibus per equites in Petra(m) comportarat. 20
- 1 43. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar consilium capit ex loci natura. erant enim circum castra Pompei permulti editi atque

18 paruam partem *Hotman* || 19 dyrrachiū *D'UT'* dirr- *LF*

42, 1 dyrrachio *D'UT* dyra- *V* dirra- *LF* || 6 cōportari *DLT* cōparari *E* cōportare *U'* conportari *V* || 7 ductu iri *L'T* ductū iri *V*, *L*<sup>2</sup> ducturū *D'* || 10 fecerat *D'V*, *L* corr -ant *L'T* | e(e *D*)pirū *DL* epyrū *EU'T* epyro *V* || 11 legatū *D'L'T* -tos *V* || 12 hē *U'T* he *V* hē *L* aeē *D* eē *E* || 13 ciuitatibus descripsit *D* ciuitatibus descripsit *EL'T* imperauit ciuitatibus *V* || 14 parthinis *EU'T* parthy in his *D* parthyinis *L* (parthiinis *F*<sup>2</sup>) partinis *V* | et — castellis *om V* | et *DU'T* ex *L*, *om E* || 17 inportato *DLF'* imp- *EUV* inportatu *T* | tum *om T'* | prouiderat *Aldo* : prouidebat *Dβ* prouiderat *E* || 18 parthinos *D'LT* par(pas *F*<sup>1</sup>)thynos *U'* partynos *V* || 19 conquisitum — 20 domibus *mg T* | effosis *L'* || 20 in Petram *Buecheler* : in petra *E* in porta *DL'V* importa *T*

43, 2 post natura *T* exhibet atq. asperi col, sed del | atq; β, om *D'* (aspiq; *E*)



asperi colles. hos primum pr<a>esidiis tenuit castellaque ibi  
 2 communit. inde, ut loci cuiusque natura ferebat, ex castello  
 in castellum perducta munitione circum uallare Pompeium in- 5  
 3 stituit, haec [ex]spectans, quod angusta re frumentaria ute-  
 batur, quodque Pompeius multitudine equitum ualebat, quo  
 minore periculo undique frumentum commeatumque exercitui  
 subportare posset, simul uti pabulatione Pompeium prohiberet  
 equitatumque eius ad rem gerendam inutilem efficeret, tertio 10  
 ut auctoritatem, qua ille maxime apud exterarum nationes niti  
 uidebatur, minueret, cum fama per orbem terrarum percre-  
 buisset illum a Caesare obsideri neque audere pr<o>elio  
 dimicare.

1 44. Pompeius neque a mari Dyrrachioque discedere uo-  
 lebat, quod omnem apparatus belli, tela, arma, tormenta ibi  
 conlocauerat frumentumque exercitui nauibus subportabat,  
 neque munitiones Caesaris prohibere poterat, nisi pr<o>elio 5  
 decertare uellet; quod eo tempore statuerat non esse facien- 5  
 2 dum. relinquebatur, ut extremam rationem belli sequens  
 quam plurimos colles occuparet et quam latissimas regiones  
 pr<a>esidiis teneret Caesarisque copias, quam maxime posset,  
 3 distineret; idque accidit. castellis enim XXIII effectis XV  
 mil(ia) pas(sum) circuitu amplexus hoc spatio pabulabatur; 10  
 multaue erant intra eum locum manu sata, quibus interim  
 4 iumenta pasceret. atque ut nostri perpetuas munitiones uidebant  
 perductas ex castellis in proxima castella, neque, <nequo>  
 loco erumperent Pompeiani ac nostros pos tergum adorirent-  
 tur, timebant, ita illi interiore spatio perpetuas munitiones 15  
 5 efficiebant, neque<m> locum nostri intrare atque ipsos a tergo  
 circum uenire possent. sed illi operibus uincebant, quod et

4 cōmunit *L' T* cōmuniit *V* cōmū<sup>u</sup>mit *D* cōmuniuit *E* || 6 haec —  
 48, 6 iaciebant *om D'* | spectans *Vascosan* : exspectans *FT'* exp-  
*LU* || 12 p̄rebuisset *L' T* p̄rebruisset *V*

44, 1 dyrrachio *UT* dirr- *LFV* || 2 apparatus *LT'* adparatū *U*  
 ad  
 paratū *F* || 3 conlocauerat *UT* coll- *LFV* | supportabat *V* || 5 sta-  
 tuerat non esse faciendū *LT'* faciendum non esse statuerat *U'* ||  
 11 manusata *L'* man' atq; a (a' *V*) *T'* || 13 neque, nequo *Buecheler* :  
 neq. β neq̄ *L corr* || 14 pos *UT* p' *L* post *FV* | adorirent<sup>2</sup> *FT'*, *L*<sup>2</sup>  
 adorirentur *L<sup>1</sup>U* || 16 nequem *codd. Petavianus et Cuiacianus* :  
 neq. β

numero militum praestabant et interiore spatio minorem  
 6 circuitum habebant. quae cum erant loca Caesari capienda,  
 etsi prohibere Pompeius totis copiis et dimicare non con- 20  
 stituerat, tamen suis locis sagittarios funditoresque mittebat,  
 7 quorum magnum habebat numerum, multique ex nostris uul-  
 nerabantur magnusque incesserat timor sagittarum atque  
 omnes fere milites aut ex coactis aut ex centonibus aut ex  
 coriis tunicas aut tegimenta fecerant, quibus tela uitarent. 25

1 45. In occupandis praesidiis magna ui uterque nite-  
 batur: Caesar, ut quam angustissime Pompeium contineret,  
 Pompeius, ut quam plurimos colles quam maximo circuitu  
 2 occuparet; crebraque ob eam causam praesidia fiebant. in his  
 cum legio Caesaris nona praesidium quoddam occupauisset 5  
 et munire coepisset, huic loco propinquum et contrarium  
 collem Pompeius occupauit nostrosque opere prohibere coepit,  
 3 et cum una ex parte prope aequum aditum haberet, primum  
 sagittariis funditoribusque circumiectis, postea leuis armaturae  
 magna multitudine missa tormentisque prolatis munitiones 10  
 impediabat; neque erat facile nostris uno tempore propugnare  
 4 et munire. Caesar cum suos ex omnibus partibus uulnerari  
 uideret, recipere se iussit et loco excedere. erat per decliue  
 5 receptus. illi autem hoc acrius instabant neque regredi  
 nostros patiebantur, quod timore adducti locum relinquere 15  
 6 uidebantur. dicitur eo tempore glorians apud suos Pompeius  
 dixisse: non recusare se, quin nullius usus imperator existi-  
 maretur, si sine maximo detrimento legiones Caesaris sese  
 recepissent inde, quo temere essent progressae.

1 46. Caesar receptui suorum timens crates ad extremum  
 tumulum contra hostem proferri et aduersas locari, intra has  
 mediocri latitudine fossam tectis militibus obduci iussit locum-  
 2 que in omneis partes quam maxime impedirei. ipse idoneis  
 locis funditores instruxit, ut praesidio nostris se recipienti- 5

19 Que cū<sup>erant</sup> F || 21 q; V, om L' T

45, 1 nitebatur *codd Petau. et Cuiacianus* : uidebat<sup>2</sup> || 6 coepis-  
 set U' cepisset L cepiss& T cepissent V || 7 coepit UT cepit LFV ||  
 14 receptus r : receptū

46, 4 om̄s LV oēs U om̄is FT | im(ī LF)pediri L' V îpedirē T

3 bus essent. his rebus completis legionem reduci iussit. Pom-  
 peiani hoc insolentius atque audacius nostros premere et in-  
 stare coeperunt cratesque pro munitione obiectas propulerunt,  
 4 ut fossas transcenderent. quod cum animaduertisset Caesar,  
 ueritus, ne non reducti, sed deiecti uiderentur maiusque de- 10  
 trimentum caperetur, a medio fere spatio suos per Antonium,  
 qui ei legionei pr<a>erat, cohortatus tuba signum dari atque  
 5 in hostes impetum fieri iussit. milites leg(ionis) VIII. subito  
 conspirati pila coniecerunt et ex inferiore loco aduersus  
 pilum incitati cursu pr<a>ecipites Pompeianos egerunt et 15  
 terga uertere coegerunt; quibus ad recipiendum crates directae  
 longurique obiecti et institutae fossae magno impedimento  
 6 fuerunt. nostri uero, qui satis habebant sine detrimento  
 discedere, compluribus interfectis, v omnino suorum amissis  
 quietissime se receperunt pauloque citra eum locum aliis 20  
 comprehensis collibus munitiones perfecerunt.

1 47. Erat noua et inusitata belli ratio cum tot castello-  
 rum numero tantoque spatio et tantis munitionibus et toto  
 2 obsidionis genere, tum etiam reliquis rebus. nam quicumque  
 alterum obsidere conati sunt, percussos atque infirmos hostes  
 adorti aut pr<o>elio superatos aut aliqua offensione permotos 5  
 continuerunt, cum ipsi numero equitum militumque pr<a>e-  
 starent; causa autem obsidionis haec fere esse consuevit, ut  
 3 frumento hostes prohiberent. at tum integras atque incolumes  
 copias Caesar inferiore militum numero continebat, cum illi  
 omnium rerum copia [h]abundarent; cotidie enim magnus 10  
 undique nauium numerus conueniebat, quae commeatum sub-  
 portarent, neque ullus flare uentus poterat, quin aliqua ex  
 4 parte secundum cursum habere<n>t. ipse autem consumptis

6 completis] comparatis *Hoffmann* | legionem *Faerno* : legiones ||  
 7 audatius *U' T'* audatius' *L* || 8 coeper *U* ceperunt *LV* ceper *FT* ||  
 12 legioni *L' V* -nê *T'* || 15 egerunt *V* gerunt *L' T* | et —16 coegerunt  
*om L* || 16 directe *U'* directe (-e *V*) *LV* derete *T*, dereptae *Stoffel* ||  
 17 obiecti *r* : obtecti *β* || 20 se *V*, *om L' T* | citra *UT'* cir<sup>t</sup>ca *F'*  
 circa *L*

47, 8 at *LT'* ac *U'* || 9 ce(ce- *L*)sar *V*, *L p. ras* ce(ce- *LF*)sari  
*L' T* cesari *F* | inferiore militū *V* inferiores militū (militēs *T*) *L' T* ||  
 10 h (*h U*)abundarent *L' T* habundaret *V* || 11 subportarent *LT*  
 supp- *U' V* || 13 haberent *cod. Leid.* 38 : haberet



omnibus longe lateque frumentis summis erat in angustiis.  
 5 sed tamen haec singulari patientia milites ferebant. recorda- 15  
 bantur enim eadem se superiore anno in Hispania perpessos  
 labore et patientia maximum bellum confecisse; meminerant  
 ad Alesiam magnam se inopiam perpessos, multo etiam ma-  
 iorem ad Auaricum, maximarum se gentium uictores disces-  
 6 sisse. non illis <h>ordeum cum daretur, non legumina re- 20  
 cusabant; pecus uero, cuius rei summa erat ex Epiro copia,  
 magno in honore habebant.

1 48. Est etiam genus radice inuentum ab [h]is, qui fuerant  
 ab ale<b>ribus, quod appellatur chara, quod admixtum lactei  
 multum inopiam leuabat. id ad similitudinem panis efficie-  
 2 bant. eius erat magna copia. ex hoc effectos panes, cum in  
 conloquiis Pompeiani famem nostris obiectarent, uulgo in eos 5  
 iaciebant, ut spem eorum minuerent.

1 49. Iamque frumenta maturescere incipiebant atque ipsa  
 spes inopiam sustentabat, quod celeriter se habituros copiam  
 confidebant; crebraeque uoces militum in uigiliis colloquisque  
 audiebantur prius se cortice ex arboribus uicturos, quam  
 2 Pompeium e manibus dimissuros. libenter etiam ex perfugis 5  
 cognoscebant equos eorum tolerari, reliqua uero iumenta inter-  
 isse; uti autem ipsos ualitudine non bona cum angustiis loci  
 et odore t<a>etro ex multitudine cadauerum et cotidianis labori-  
 bus, insuetos operum, tum aquae summa inopia affectos.  
 3 omnia enim flumina atque omnes riuos, qui ad mare per- 10  
 tinebant, Caesar aut auerterat aut magnis operibus obstru-  
 xerat, atque ut erant loca montuosa et ad specus angustiae  
 uallium, has sublicis in terram demissis pr<a>es<a>epserat ter-

16 eadē V eandē L eandem L' T | se om V || 19 se del Davies ||  
 20 ordeū β

48, 1 etiā L' aut T' || 2 ab alebribus scripsi: a ualeribus, cf.  
 Pauli Festus p. 25, 4 M.: Alebria bene alentia. C. Gloss. Lat. II p. 14, 35:  
 Alerius (Alebrus ed) εὐτροπος, θρεμβός, γροφρός. 565, 50: Alerius  
 bonus alumnus. V p. 344, 16: Alibre alimentum. 438, 34: Alibre ali-  
 menta habens | chara L' chará T' kara V | lacte L' lacti T' || 5 conlo-  
 quiis UT coll- L F V || 6 ut redit D'

49, 1 ipsa β, om D' || 3 colloquis D colloquiis E L F V con-  
 loquiis UT || 4 ex D' UT' & L et ex F, U<sup>2</sup> || 7 ualitudine D' L F T  
 ualet- UV | non — 8 multitudine om T' || 9 affectos D' L V adf- U' T ||  
 12 ut om U' | ad specus E β adspetus D || 13 demissis cod Palatinus:  
 dimissis

4 ramque adgesserat, ut aquam continerent. ita illi necessario  
 loca sequi demissa ac palustria et puteos fodere cogebantur 15  
 atque hunc laborem ad cotidiana opera addebant; qui tamen  
 fontes a quibusdam pr<a>esidiis aberant longius et celeriter  
 5 aestibus exarescebant. at Caesaris exercitus optima ualitudine  
 summaque aquae copia utebatur, tum commeatus omni genere  
 praeter frumentum abundabat; quibus cotidie melius *sibi fore* 20  
 tempus maioremque spem maturitate frumentorum proponi  
 uidebant.

1     **50.** In nouo genere belli nouae ab utrisque bellandi  
 rationes reperiabantur. illi cum animum aduertissent ex  
 ignibus nocte cohortes nostras ad munitiones excubare, si-  
 lentio adgressi uniuersas in multitudinem sagittas coiciebant  
 2 et se confestim ad suos recipiebant. quibus rebus nostri 5  
 usu docti haec reperiabant remedia, ut alio loco ignes fa-  
 cerent \* \* \*

1     **51.** Interim certior factus P. Sylla, quem discedens castris  
 pr<a>efecerat Caesar, auxilio cohortei uenit cum legionibus  
 2 duabus; cuius aduentu facile sunt repulsi Pompeiani. neque  
 uero conspectum aut impetum nostrorum tulerunt, primisque  
 3 deiectis reliqui se uerterunt et loco cesserunt. sed insequen- 5  
 teis nostros, ne longius prosequerentur, Sylla reuocauit. at  
 plerique existimant, si acrius insequi uoluisset, bellum eo die  
 potuisse finirei. cuius consilium reprehendendum non uidetur  
 4 aliae enim sunt legati partes atque imperatoris; alter omnia  
 agere ad pr<a>escriptum, alter libere ad summam rerum con- 10  
 5 sulere debet. Sylla a Caesare castris relictus liberatis suis  
 hoc fuit contentus neque pr<o>elio decertare uoluit, quae res

14 adgesserat *DL'* aggesserat *EV<sup>2</sup>* aggresserat *V<sup>1</sup>* adiecerat *T'* |  
 contineret *T'* | ita  $\beta$  ut *D'* | necessario  $\beta$  -ia *D'* || 15 demissa *D'F*  
 dim- *LUT'* || 20 abundabat *D'LUT'* hab- *FV* | sibi fore *Buecheler* :  
 subterere *D'V* subtrere *L'T*

**50**, 2 animū aduertissent *D'* animaduertissent  $\beta$  || 4 adg̃ssi  
*L<sup>1</sup>U<sup>2</sup>mg* aduersi *D'U'T*, om *V* | in *D'L* int̄ *U'T'* | coiciebant  $\beta$   
 coiciebant *D* coniciebant *E* || 5 quibus —7 facerent om *E* || 7 \* \* \*  
*Manuzio*

**51**, 1 sylla *DUT* silla *ELFV* || 2 cohortū<sup>i</sup> *T* cohorti *DL'V*,  
 om *E* || 5 insequentes *D'LUV* -tis *FT* || 6 silla *F* || 8 finiri *D'L'*  
 -re *T'* | reph̄endendū non *D'LV* reph̄endum n̄ *T* n̄ reph̄endendū *U'* ||  
 9 omnia  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 11 Silla *V*

tamen fortasse aliquem reciperet casum, ne imperatorias sibi  
 6 partes sumpsisse uideretur. Pompeianis magnam res ad re-  
 ceptum difficultatem afferebat. nam ex iniquo progressi loco 15  
 in summo constiterant; si per decliue sese reciperent, nostros  
 ex superiore insequentes loco uerebantur; neque multum ad  
 solis occasum temporis super erat; spe enim conficiendi ne-  
 7 gotii prope in noctem rem deduxerant. ita necessario atque  
 ex tempore capto consilio Pompeius tumulum quendam oc- 20  
 cupauit, qui tantum aberat a nostro castello, ut telum tor-  
 mento missum adigi non posset. hoc consedit loco atque  
 eum communiuit omnesque ibi copias continuit.

1       **52.** Eodem tempore duobus pr<a>eterea locis pugnatum  
 est; nam plura castella Pompeius pariter destinendae manus  
 causa temptauerat, ne ex proximis pr<a>esidiis succurri posset.  
 2 uno loco Volcaci<sup>us</sup> Tullus impetum legionis sustinuit cohori-  
 tibus tribus atque eam loco depulit; altero Germani muni- 5  
 tiones nostras egressi compluribus interfectis sese ad suos  
 incolumes receperunt.

1       **53.** Ita uno die sex pr<o>eliis factis, tribus ad Dyr-  
 rachium, tribus ad munitiones, cum horum omnium ratio  
 haberetur, ad duo milia numero ex Pompeianis cecidisse re-  
 periebamus, euocatos centurionesque complures; in eo fuit  
 numero Val(erius) Flaccus L. filius eius, qui pr<a>etor Asiam 5  
 2 obtinuerat; signaque sunt militaria sex relata. nostri non  
 3 amplius XX omnibus sunt pr<o>eliis desiderati. sed in castello  
 nemo fuit omnino militum, quin uulneraretur, quattuorque ex  
 4 una cohorte centuriones oculos amiserunt. et cum laboris sui  
 periculique testimonium afferre uellent, milia sagittarum cir- 10

14 magnā *E* magna *Dβ* || 15 adferebat *U'* || 16 reciperent *L' V*,  
*E in ras -re D' T* || 19 deduxerant *DU' T'* duxerant *EL* || 21 tor-  
 mento *D' V* tormentū *T* tormētū ue *L'* || 23 post continuit uersus tres  
 et dimidiis uacui in *D*

**52**, 1 p̄tērea *β* p̄ptēa *D'* || 3 ne *β*, *D p. ras* nec *D'* || 4 uol  
 caci<sup>us</sup> *F'* uolcaci<sup>us</sup> *D' LUT'*

**53**, 1 sex *D' F* vi *LUT'* | add(ad *D*)yrrachiū *D' U* ad dirr(dir  
*F*)achiū *LFT'* || 3 duo *T'*, *D p. ras* duorum *D' L'* | numero *om V* |  
 reperiebamus *ELV* repp- *DU' T'* || 4 euocatos *β* -ti *D* -ti st̄ *E* ||  
 6 obtinuerat *E* || 8 quin *U'*, *D corr* qui *D' LT* qui non *V* || 10 peri-  
 culiq; *V* & piculū *E* periculi *DLT* picto *L<sup>2</sup>*, | afferre *D' LV* adf-  
*U' T'*



citer xxx in castellum coniecta Caesarei renumerauerunt, scutoque ad eum relato Scaeuae centur(ionis) inuenta sunt in  
 5 eo foramina [c]cxx. quem Caesar, ut erat de se meritus et de re p(ublica), donatum milibus cc n(ummum) ab octauis ordinibus ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiauit (eius enim  
 15 ope<ra> castellum magna ex parte conseruatum esse constabat) cohortemque postea duplici stipendio, frumento, uespeciariis militaribusque donis amplissime donauit.

1 **54.** Pompeius noctu magnis additis munitionibus reliquis diebus turres extruxit et in altitudinem pedum xv effectis  
 2 operibus uineis eam partem castrorum obtexit, et quinque intermissis diebus alteram noctem subnubilam nactus obstructis omnibus castrorum portis et ad impediendum obiectis, tertia  
 5 inita uigilia silentio exercitum eduxit et se in antiquas munitiones recepit.

1 **56.** [55.] Aetolia, Acarnania, Amphilocheis per Cassium Longinum et Caluisium Sabinum, ut demonstrauius, receptis temptandam sibi Achaïam ac paulo longius progrediendum  
 2 existimabat Caesar. itaque eo Q. Calenum misit ei(que) Sabinum et Cassium cum cohortibus adiungit. quorum cognito  
 3 aduentu Rutilius Lupus, qui Achaïam missus a Pompeio obtinebat, <I>sth[u]mum pr<a>emunire instituit, ut Achaïa Fufium  
 4 prohiberet. Calenus Delphos, Thebas, [et] Orcomen[e]um uoluntate ipsarum ciuitatum recepit, nonnullas urbes per uim expugnauit, reliquas ciuitates circum missis legationibus 10

11 coniecta *ELV* c̄tecta *D* contexta *T* | Caesarei *scripsi* : cæ(e, e)sari | renumerauerunt *ELUVF*<sup>2</sup> rei numerauer̄ *F*<sup>1</sup> remuner- *DT* || 13 cxx *codd Palatinus et Bongarsianus* (cf. *Val. Max.* III 2, 23. *Flor.* II 13 [III 2], 40. *Suet. d. Iul.* 68. *Appian. b. c.* II 60 : ccxx *D' T'* ccxxx *L'* || 14 *Al* = nummum *Hoffmann* : atque || 16 opera *r* : ope || 17 uespeciariis *ET'* uespetiariis *DL'*, cf. *Pauli Festus* 19 p. 369, 3 *M.* : Vespices fructecta densa dicta a similitudine uestis.

**54**, 3 quinq. *DFT* V (·<sup>o</sup>V· *E*) *ELUV* || 4 obstructis *EV* obstruxit *DT* extractis *L'*

**55** et **56** *capitum sedem commutauit Nipperdey 56*, 1 aetolia *D' U'* ae(e *V*)tholia *LT'* || 2 et om *T'* || 4 existimabat Caesar. *Aldo* : existimabat. Cae(Ce)sar | Q. om *D*, *T corr* | ei *Glandorp* : et || 6 rutilius β rutilus *D'* || 7 optinebat *E* | Isthmum *Aldo* : stumum *D' U'* sthumū *LT'* || 8 et *del Scaliger* | Orchomenum *Aldo* : orcomeneum || 9 ciuitatum (-ciū *FV*<sup>2</sup>) *DL'*, *T corr* -tū *ET'* | recepit *ELFT'*, *U corr* recipit *DU pr* || 10 reliquas β stumum *premunire liquas D* stumū *p̄muniuit. reliquas E*

amicitiae Caesaris conciliare studebat. in his rebus fere erat Fufius occupatus.

1       55. [56.] Omnibus deinceps diebus Caesar exercitum  
in aciem aequum in locum produxit, si Pompeius proelio  
decertare uellet, ut paene castris Pompei legiones subiceret;  
tantumque a uallo eius prima acies aberat, uti ne telo tor-  
2 mentoue adigi posset. Pompeius autem, ut famam opinio- 5  
nemque hominum teneret, sic pro castris exercitum con-  
stituebat, ut tertia acies uallum contingeret, omnis quidem  
instructus exercitus telis ex uallo abiectis protegi posset.

1       57. Haec cum in Achaia atque apud Dyrrachium gere-  
rentur Scipionemque in Macedoniam uenisse constaret, non  
oblitus pristini instituti Caesar mittit ad eum <A.> Clodium,  
suum atque illius familiarem, quem ab illo traditum initio  
et commendatum in suorum necessariorum numero habere 5  
2 instituerat. huic dat litteras mandataque ad eum, quorum  
haec erat summa: sese omnia de pace expertum nihil adhuc  
<effecisse; id> arbitrari uitio factum eorum, quos esse auctores  
eius rei uoluisset, quod sua mandata perferre non oportuno  
3 tempore ad Pompeium uererentur. Scipionem ea esse aucto- 10  
ritate, ut non solum libere, quae probasset, exponere, sed  
etiam ex magna parte compellare atque errantem regere posset;  
pr<a>eesse autem suo nomine exercitui, ut pr<a>eter auctori-  
4 tatem uires quoque ad coercendum haberet. quod si fecisset,  
quietem Italiae, pacem prouinciarum, salutem imperi[o] uni 15  
5 omnes acceptam relatueros. haec ad eum mandata Clodius  
refert ac primis diebus, ut uidebatur, libenter auditus, reli-  
quis ad conloquium non admittitur castigato Scipione a Fa-  
uonio, ut postea confecto bello reperiebamus, infectaque re  
sese ad Caesarem recepit. 20

11 amicitiae *L* amicicie *V* amicitia (-cia *F*) *D' U' T*

55 [56], 3 subiceret *L* subicere *DU'T'* subiere *E* || 4 uti ne  $\beta$   
ut in eum *D'* || 5 adici *Oudendorp* || 6 sic *LV* si *U'T*, om *D'* ||

7 tertia *D'* tertia  $\beta$  || 8 abiectis] plecti<sup>s</sup> *T*

57, 1 dyrrachiū *EUV* dirr(dir- *F*<sup>1</sup>)achium *DLFT* || 3 <A.>  
Clodium *Makland* || 6 mandataq. (& mandata *V*)  $\beta$  mandatq. *D'* |  
quorum *DLT'* quarum *EU'* || 7 exptv̄ *E corr L*<sup>2</sup> : expta || 8 <effe-  
cisse; id> *Madvig* || 14 coercendū *D' U'* cohe- *LT'* || 15 imperii  
*Vascosan* : imperio || 18 conloquium *DU'T* coll- *ELV* || 19 reperie-  
bamus *D' LV* repp- *U'T*

1       **58.** Caesar quo facilius equitatum Pompeianum ad Dyr-  
 rachium contineret et pabulatione prohiberet, aditus duos, quos  
 esse angustos demonstrauius, magnis operibus pr<a>emuniuit  
 2 castellaque his locis posuit. Pompeius ubi nihil profici equi-  
 tatu cognouit, paucis intermissis diebus rursus eum nauibus 5  
 3 ad se intra munitiones recepit. erat summa inopia pabuli,  
 adeo ut foliis ex arboribus strictis et teneris harundinum  
 radicibus contusis equos alerent; frumenta enim, quae fuerant  
 4 intra munitiones sata, consumpserant. cogebantur Corcyra  
 atque Acarnania longo interiecto nauigationis spatio pabulum 10  
 subportare, quoque erat eius rei minor copia, hordeo ad-  
 5 augere atque his rationibus equitatum tolerare. sed post-  
 quam non modo hordeum pabulumque omnibus locis herbae-  
 que desectae, sed etiam fru[ctu]s ex arboribus deficiebat, cor-  
 ruptis equis macie conandum sibi aliquid Pompeius de eruptione 15  
 existimauit.

1       **59.** Erant apud Caesarem in equitum numero Allobroges II  
 fratres, Roucillus et <A>ecus, Adbucilli filii, qui principatum in  
 ciuitate multis annis obtinuerat, singulari uirtute homines,  
 quorum opera Caesar omnibus Gallicis bellis optima fortis-  
 2 simaque erat usus. his domi ob has causas amplissimos ma- 5  
 gistratus mandauerat atque eos extra ordinem in senatum  
 legendos curauerat agrosque in Gallia ex hostibus captos  
 praemiaque rei pecuniariae magna tribuerat locupletesque ex  
 3 egentibus fecerat. hi propter uirtutem non solum apud Caesarem  
 in honore erant, sed etiam apud exercitum cari habe- 10  
 bantur; sed freti amicitia Caesaris et stulta ac barbara

**58,** 1 dyrrachium *EU* dirr- *DLFT'* || 4 equitatu  $\beta$  -tatū *D'* ||  
 5 diebus  $\beta$ , *om D'* | rursus *D'* rursū  $\beta$  || 6 recepit *D' U* recipit  
*LFT'* || 7 foliis ex (ex foliis *U pr*) arboribus  $\beta$  foliis arborū (-ris *E*)

*D'* | strictis *om E* | teneris (-i<sup>s</sup> *V*) *EL'V* -ra *DT* | arundinū *D'* ha-  $\beta$  ||  
 9 cogebant<sup>2</sup>  $\beta$  et cogebantur *D'* || 10 pabulū  $\beta$  -lo *D* -la *E* || 11 sup-  
 portare *EV* | copia  $\beta$ , *om D'* (*in E spatium 3 litterarum*) | hordeo  
 (-eō *F*)  $\beta$  ordeo *D'* || 12 equitatū  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 13 hordeum *DU'T'*  
 ordeū *EL* | herbe(-e *T'*)q. desecte(-e *F*)  $\beta$  her(ter *D*)baq. desecta *D'* ||  
 14 frus *Buecheler*, frons *Cellarius* : fructus

**59,** 1 in *V* ex *L'*, *om D'T* | equitū *L'T* equitatū *V* equita-  
 tum *D'* || 2 rouc(rolē *L* rosc *I*)illus *D'L'* raucillus *T'* | Aecus *scripsi* :  
 egus | adbuilli *D'L'* adbuilli *T* albucilli *V* || 3 ciuitate *V*, *L p. ras* -tē  
*L'T* -tem *D'* || 4 gallicis *D'V* gallis *L'T* || 7 agros —8 tribuerat  
*om E*



adrogantia elati despiciebant suos stipendiumque equitum  
 4 fraudabant et praedam omnem domum auertebant. quibus  
 illi rebus permoti uniuersi Caesarem adierunt palamque de  
 eorum iniuriis sunt questi et ad cetera addiderunt falsum 15  
 ab [h]is equitum numerum deferri, quorum stipendium auer-  
 terent.

1       **60.** Caesar neque tempus illud animaduersionis esse ex-  
 istimans et multa uirtuti eorum concedens rem totam distulit;  
 illos secreto castigauit, quod quaestui equites haberent, mo-  
 nuitque, ut ex sua amicitia omnia expectarent et ex pr<a>e-  
 2 teritis suis officiis reliqua sperarent. magnam tamen haec res 5  
 illis offensionem et contemptionem ad omnes adtulit, idque  
 ita esse cum ex aliorum obiectionibus tum etiam ex dome-  
 3 stico iudicio atque animi conscientia intellegebant. quo pudore  
 adducti et fortasse non se liberare*i*, sed in aliud tempus re-  
 seruare*i* arbitrati discedere ab nobis et nouam temptare For- 10  
 4 tunam nouasque amicitias experiri constituerunt. et cum  
 paucis conlocuti clientibus suis, quibus tantum facinus com-  
 mittere audebant, primum conati sunt praef(ectum) eq(uitum)  
 C. Volusenum interficere, ut postea bello confecto cognitum  
 est, ut cum munere aliquo perfugisse ad Pompeium uideren- 15  
 5 tur; postquam id difficilius uisum est neque facultas per-  
 ficiendi dabatur, quam maximas potuerunt pecunias mutuati,  
 proinde ac suis satis facere et fraudata restituere uellent, multis  
 coemptis equis ad Pompeium transierunt cum [h]is, quos sui  
 consilii participes habebant. 20

1       **61.** Quos Pompeius, quod erant honesto loco nati et in-  
 structi liberaliter magnoque comitatu et multis iumentis  
 uenerant uirique fortes habebantur et in honore apud Caesa-

12 adrogantia *DL* arr- *ET'* || 14 palam —15 addiderunt *om E* ||  
 16 his  $\beta$  iis *D'*

**60**, 1 animaduersionis *D'L'* aduersionis *T'* || 5 reliqua sperarent  
*del Chacon* || 6 adtulit *DL* at(in *Fpr*)tulit *EU'T'* || 9 se *om F<sup>1</sup>* |  
 liberari *D'L'V* libare *T* | reseruare *D<sup>1</sup>* -ri *E $\beta$ D<sup>2</sup>* || 10 ab *DLUV*  
 a *EFT* || 12 conlocuti *D* elocutis *T* conloquuti *U'* collocuti *ELV* ||  
 15 pom(po *L*)peiū  $\beta$  pompeium transierunt (*e u. 19*) *D'* || 16 difficilius  
*D'V<sup>2</sup>* facin' *L'* facilius *T'* || 17 maximas  $\beta$  -mam *D'* || 18 suis  
 satis facere  $\beta$  suis fr satis fruere *D* si iis satisfactori *E* || 19 cum —**61**,  
 1 erant *om D'* || **60**, 19 is : his  $\beta$

rem fuerunt, quodque nouum et pr<a>eter consuetudinem  
 acciderat, omnia sua pr<a>esidia circum duxit atque ostentauit. 5  
 2 nam ante id tempus nemo aut miles aut eques a Caesare ad  
 Pompeium transierat, cum paene cotidie a Pompeio ad Caesarem  
 perfugerent, uulgo uero uniuersi in Epiro atque Aetolia  
 conscripti milites earumque regionum omnium, quae a Caesare  
 tenebantur. sed hi cognitis omnibus rebus, seu quid in  
 munitionibus perfectum non erat, seu quid a peritioribus rei  
 militaris desiderari uidebatur, temporibusque rerum et spatiis  
 locorum in custodiarum uaria diligentia animaduersa, prout  
 cuiusque eorum, qui negotiis pr<a>eerant, aut natura aut studium  
 ferebat, haec ad Pompeium omnia detulerant. 15

1 62. Quibus ille cognitis eruptionisque iam ante capto  
 consilio, ut demonstratum est, tegimenta galeis milites ex  
 2 uiminibus facere atque aggerem iubet conportare. his paratis  
 rebus magnum numerum leuis armaturae et sagittariorum  
 aggeremque omnem noctu in scaphas et naues actuarias in-  
 5 ponit et de media nocte cohortes LX ex maximis castris  
 pr<a>esidiisque deductas ad eam partem munitionum ducit  
 quae pertinebant ad mare longissimeque a maximis castris  
 3 Caesaris aberant. eodem naues, quas demonstrauius aggere  
 et leuis armaturae militibus completas, quasque ad Dyrrachium  
 10 naues longas habebat, mittit et, quid a quoque fieri uellit,  
 4 praecipit. ad eas munitiones Caesar Lentulum Marcellinum  
 quaestorem cum legione VIII positum habebat. huic, quod  
 ualitudine minus commoda utebatur, Fuluium Postumum ad-  
 iutorem summiserat. 15

1 63. Erat eo loco fossa pedes xv et uallum contra hostem

61, 4 fuerant *V* || 8 aetolia *D' U' T* etholia *V* etholia *L* ||  
 10 quid  $\beta$  quod *D'* || 12 que  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 13 uaria diligentia *VL*<sup>2</sup>  
 uiria diligentia *L*<sup>1</sup> uiria diligentia *U'* iuri adiligentia *T* uera dili-  
 gentia *D'* || 15 detulerant  $\beta$  -runt *D'*

62, 3 conportare *D* comp- *E $\beta$*  || 5 omnem  $\beta$ , *om D'* | inponit  
*DUT* ip- *F* imp- *ELV* || 8 pertinebat<sup>n</sup> *D* || 9 aberat *D* || 10 dyr-  
 rachiū *EU* dirr- *DLFT'* || 11 uell<sup>1</sup> & *T* uellet *D' T'* uelit *L'* || 12 pre-  
 (D p̄ *EL'*)cipit] p̄cepit *T'* || 13 legione VIII *U' T'* legiones<sup>VIII<sup>a</sup></sup> octo. *L*  
 legiones VIII. *DT*<sup>2</sup> legionib'. VIII. *E* (2)

63, 1 pedum *r* | et —2 x *om L*

in altitudinem ped(um) x, tantundemque eius ualli agger in  
 latitudinem patebat; ab eo intermisso spatio ped(um) DC alter  
 conuersus in contrariam partem erat uallus humiliore paulo  
 2 munitione. hoc enim superioribus diebus timens Caesar, ne 5  
 nauibus nostri circumuenirentur, duplicem eo loco fecerat  
 3 uallum, ut si ancipiti proelio dimicaretur, posset resisti. sed  
 operum magnitudo et continens omnium dierum labor, quod  
 mil(ia) pass(um) in circuitu xvii munitione[s] erat complexus,  
 4 perfaciendi spatium non dabat. itaque contra mare transuer- 10  
 sum uallum, qui has duas munitiones coniungeret, nondum  
 5 perfecerat. quae res nota erat Pompeio, delata per Allobrogas  
 6 perfugas, magnumque nostris attulerat incommodum. nam ut  
 ad mare nostrae cohortes nona<(e) leg(ionis) excubuerant, ac-  
 cessere subito prima luce Pompeiani, <nostris enim inpro- 15  
 uisus noctu ex castris Pompeiani> exercitus aduentus exitit;  
 simul nauibus circumuecti milites in exteriorem uallum tela  
 iaciebant fossaeque aggere complebantur et legionarii interioris  
 munitionis defensores scalis admotis tormentis cuiusque generis  
 telisque terrebant magnaue multitudo sagittariorum ab utra- 20  
 7 que parte circumfundebatur. multum autem ab ictu lapidum,  
 quod unum nostris erat telum, uimineae tegimenta galeis in-  
 8 posita defendebant. itaque cum omnibus rebus nostri pre-  
 merentur atque aegre resisterent, animaduersum est uitium  
 munitionis, quod supra demonstratum est, atque inter duos 25  
 uallos, qua perfectum opus non erat, per mare nauibus ex-  
 positi[s] in a[d]uersos nostros impetum fecerunt atque ex  
 utraque munitione deiectos terga uertere coegerunt.

2 pedū *E* peđ *DU'T* pedes *V* | tantundem *D'U* tantūdē *LFT* tan-  
 tumdē *V* || 3 latitudinē *r* : altitudinē | pedū *E* peđ *DU'T* pđ *L*  
 pedes *V* || 8 quod *T'* quot *D'U'* q̄ *L* || 9 xvii *D'LT* x&vii. *V*  
 xviii *U'* | munitione *Clarke* : munitiones | erant *U'* | complexus  
*DL* comp-*EU'T* || 10 pficiendi β ac pficiendi (-fiendi *D*) *D'* || 11 qui  
 has duas (duas *superser* *V*) β quib. duas *D'* | coniungeret *Chacon* :  
 contingeret || 12 allobrogas β, *Dmg* -ges *D'* || 14 nonā leḡ<sup>is</sup> *L*<sup>2</sup> : nona  
 leḡ *DL*<sup>1</sup> ix. nā leg *U* Noñ leḡ *F* noua lege *E* noñā legiones *T* nona  
 legione *V* | excubuerant β -bauerant *D'* || 15 <nostris — Pompeiani>  
*Buecheler* || 17 exteriorē *D'T'* tiorē *L* interiorē *U'* || 21 circūfunde-  
 bant<sup>2</sup> *D* || 22 inposita *DT* imp-*ELV* || 24 resisterent *ELV* -re *DT* ||  
 25 est *om* *U'* || 26 expositi in auersos *Faerno* : expositis in aduersos ||  
 27 nr̄os *L'* nr̄i *D'T'* || 28 deiectos *UV*, *L* corr delectos *D'*, *L* pr deletos *T*



1       **64.** Hoc tumultu nuntiato Marcellinus cohortes subsidio  
 nostris laborantibus submittit ex castris; qu(a)e fugientes  
 conspicatae neque illos suo aduentu confirmare potuerunt  
 2 neque ipsae hostium impetum tulerunt. itaque quodcumque  
 addebatur subsidio, id corruptum timore fugientium terrorem 5  
 et periculum augebat; hominum enim multitudine receptus  
 3 impediabatur. in eo proelio cum graui uulnere esset affectus  
 aquilifer et a uiribus deficeretur, conspicatus equites nostros,  
 'hanc ego' inquit 'et uiuus multos per annos magna diligentia  
 defendi et nunc moriens eadem fide Caesar*e*i restituo. nolite, 10  
 obsecro, committere, quod ante in exercitu Caesaris non ac-  
 cidit, ut rei militaris dedecus admittatur, incolumemque ad  
 4 eum deferte.' hoc casu aquila conseruatur omnibus primae  
 cohortis cent(urionibus) interfectis praeter principem priorem.

1       **65.** Iamque Pompeiani magna caede nostrorum castris  
 Marcellini adpropinquabant non mediocri terrore inlato reli-  
 quis cohortibus, et M. Antonius, qui proximum locum prae-  
 sidiorum tenebat, ea re nuntiata cum cohortibus XII descen-  
 dens ex loco superiore cernebatur. cuius aduentus Pompeianos 5  
 compressit nostrosque firmauit, ut se ex maximo timore col-  
 ligerent. neque multo post Caesar significatione per castella  
 fumo facta, ut erat superioris temporis consuetudo, deductis  
 2 quibusdam cohortibus ex pr(a)esidiis eodem uenit. qui  
 3 cognito detrimento cum animaduertisset Pompeium extra 10  
 munitiones egressum castra secundum mare (munire), ut libere  
 pabulari posset nec minus aditum nauibus haberet, commu-  
 tata ratione belli, quoniam propositum non tenuerat, iuxta  
 Pompeium munire*i* iussit.

1       **66.** Qua perfecta munitione animaduersum est ab spe-

64, 4 ipse *D'L* ipse *T'* ipsi *U'* | impetū tulerunt *β* tulerunt  
 impetum *D'* || 9 p *β*, om *D'* || 10 ce(ce *LU*)sari *EL'V* cesare<sup>////</sup> *T*  
 cesaris *D* | exercitu *EV* -tū *DL'T* || 12 incolu(-lo *V*)mē *EU'V* in-  
 colūm *DLFT*

65, 2 marcellini *β* macedonię *D'* | inlato *DU'T* ill- *ELV* ||  
 6 cōpressit *D* compressit *Eβ* || 7 multo *β* -tū *D'* | castella *β* astella  
 (-ā *E*) *D'* || 11 castra om *V* | (munire) *Buecheler* || 12 pabula(-la in  
*ras V*)ri *ELV* fabulari *DU'T* | nec *β* ne *D'* || 13 quoniam —  
 tenuerat *del Kayser* || 14 muniri *Jurin* : munire

66, 1 pfecta *D* pfecta *Eβ* | ab *D'U* ad *Ta. ras* á *V* a *LF*,  
*Tp. ras*

culatoribus Caesaris, cohortes quasdam, quod instar legionis  
 2 uideretur, esse post siluam et in uetera castra duci. castro-  
 rum hic situs erat: superioribus diebus nona Caesaris legio  
 cum se obiecisset Pompeianis copiis atque opere, ut demon- 5  
 3 strauimus, circummuniret, castra eo loco posuit. haec siluam  
 quandam contingebant neque longius a mari passibus CCC  
 4 aberant. post mutato consilio quibusdam de causis Caesar  
 paulo ultra eum locum castra transtulit, paucisque intermissis  
 diebus eadem haec Pompeius occupauerat et, quod eo loco 10  
 plures erat legiones habiturus, relicto interiore uallo maiorem  
 5 adiecerat munitionem. ita minora castra inclusa maioribus  
 6 castelli atque arcis locum obtinebant. item ab angulo castro-  
 rum sinistro munitionem ad flumen perduxerat circiter pas-  
 s(us) CCCC, quo liberius ac sine periculo milites aquarentur. 15  
 7 sed is quoque mutato consilio quibusdam de causis, quas  
 commemorare*i* necesse non est, eo loco excesserat. ita con-  
 plures dies manserant castra; munitiones quidem omnes inte-  
 grae erant.

1     **67.** Eo signo legionis inlato speculatores Caesari renun-  
 tiarunt. hoc idem uisum ex superioribus quibusdam castellis  
 confirmauerant. is locus aberat nouis Pompei castris circiter  
 2 passus quingentos. hanc legionem sperans Caesar se oppri-  
 mere posse et cupiens eius diei detrimentum sarcire reliquit 5  
 in opere cohortes duas, quae speciem munitionis pr<a>eberent;  
 3 ipse diuerso itinere, quam potuit occultissime, reliquas co-  
 hortas, numero XXXIII, in quibus erat legio nona multis  
 amissis cent(urionibus) deminutoque militum numero, ad le-  
 4 gionem Pompei castraque minora duplici acie eduxit. neque 10  
 eum prima opinio fefellit. nam et peruenit, priusquam Pom-

4 diebus  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 5 opere  $D' T'$  opa  $L'$  || 7 .cccc.  $L$  || 8 quibusdā  
 $EL'$  quib.  $DT'$  || 10 hęc(hec  $LF$ )  $D' L'$ , om  $T'$  || 11 erat  $U' V$ ,  
 $E$  corr.  $L$  corr. erant  $D' T'$  occupauerant  $L$  || 12 inclusa  $\beta$  clausa  $D'$  ||  
 13 castelli  $D' V$ ,  $L$  corr.  $F$  corr. -llis  $L' T$  || 14 munitionē  $\beta$  -nes  $D'$  |  
 circit̄ pass.  $\beta$  passus circit̄  $E$  circiter  $D$  || 15 ac sine) a  $T'$  || 17 cōme-  
 morari  $D\beta$  -re  $E$  | est  $\beta$  sit  $D'$  | conplures  $D$  compl-  $E\beta$

**67**, 1 signo . . . in(il  $ELV$ )lato] signa . . . illata *Chacon* || 3 con-  
 firmauerunt  $V$  | is  $D' LV$  his  $U' T$  | <a> nouis *Dinter* || 4 passus  
 quingentos  $DLT'$  d. <sup>tos</sup> passus  $E$  passus .d.  $U'$  || 8 nona (.ix. <sup>na</sup>  $U$ )  $L'$   
 non  $D' T'$  || 9 centurionibus  $EL'$  centum.  $D$  centū  $T'$  | deminuto  $U'$   
 dim-  $D' LT'$  || 11 opinio  $D$  opinio  $E\beta$

peius sentire posset, et tametsi erant munitiones castrorum  
 5 magna, tamen sinistro cornu, ubi erat ipse, celeriter ad-  
 gressus Pompeianos ex uallo deturbauit. erat obiectus portis  
 ericius. hic paulisper est pugnatum, cum inrumpere nostri 15  
 conarentur, illi castra defenderent, fortissime[que] Tito Pu-  
 leione, cuius opera proditum exercitum C. Antoni demonstra-  
 6 uimus, e(o) loco propugnante. sed tamen nostri uirtute uice-  
 runt excisoque ericio primo in maiora castra, post etiam  
 in castellum, quod erat inclusum maioribus castris, inruperunt, 20  
 quod eo pulsa legio sese receperat; nonnullos ibi repugnantes  
 interfecerunt.

1 68. Sed Fortuna, quae plurimum potest cum in reliquis  
 rebus tum pr(a)ecipue in bello, paruis momentis magnas  
 2 rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit. munitionem,  
 quam pertinere a castris ad flumen supra demonstrauius,  
 dextri Caesaris cornu cohortes ignorantia loci sunt secutae, 5  
 cum portam quaerent castrorumque eam munitionem esse  
 3 arbitrarentur. quod cum esset animaduersum coniuncta esse  
 flumini, pro(r)utis munitionibus defendente nullo transcen-  
 derunt, omnisque noster equitatus eas cohortes est secutus.

1 69. Interim Pompeius hac satis longa interiecta mora  
 et re nuntiata v legione(s) ab opere deducta(s) subsidio suis  
 duxit; eodemque tempore equitatus eius nostris equitibus  
 appropinquabat, et acies instructa a nostris, qui castra occu-  
 2 pauerant, cernebatur, omniaque sunt subito mutata. Pom- 5

12 et tãet si *L'* etiã &si *D' T'* || 13 adgressus *DU' T* agg- *ELV* ||  
 14 obiectus  $\beta$  -tis *D'* || 15 eric(-t *L*)ius  $\beta$  ericis *D'* | inrumpere  
*DU' pr. T irr- ELFV* || 16 q. om *r* | tito *D' T'* t. *L'* | puleione *D' L' V*  
 pulione *T*, Pullone *R. Schneider* || 18 eo *V* e *D' L' T* || 20 inrumpe-  
 runt *DU' pr. T pr.* inruperunt *T corr* irruperunt *ELFV* || 21 pulso *U'* |  
 ibi *DU' T'* sibi *ELF*

68, 3 efficit  $\beta$  effecit *D'* | tũ *L'* dũ *T'*, om *D'* || 4 quã *D' VL*<sup>2</sup>  
 que *F'* que *UT* q̄ *L* | ptingere *L'* | demonstrauius  $\beta$  monstrauius  
*D'* || 5 dextri  $\beta$  dextrũ *D'* | cornus *U'* || 6 q. (que *L pr.*)  $\beta$ , quod *D'* |  
 coniuncta  $\beta$  -am (ã *E*) *D'* || 8 prorutis *Chacon*: putis *D* p ut is *U*  
 p ut his *LFT'* positis *E* || 9 eas  $\beta$  eo *D'*

69, 2 v legiones *Nipperdey* : .v. (<sup>ta</sup> *T'*) legione (-ñ *T*) *DT'*  
 v (<sup>ta</sup> .v. *E* .v. *L*) legionẽ *EL'* | deductas *Nipperdey* : deducta *DT'*  
 -ã *EL'* || 4 appropinquabat *D' LV* adppinquabat *U' T* || 5 pompeiana  
 legio *D' L'* legio pompeiana *T'*



peiana legio celeri<s> spe subsidii confirmata ab decumana porta resistere cona<ba>tur atque ultro in nostros impetum faciebat. equitatus Caesaris, quod angusto itinere per aggeres ascendebat, receptui suo timens initium fugae faciebat. 3 dextrum cornu, quod erat a sinistro seclusum, terrore equitum animaduerso, ne intra munitionem opprimeretur, ea parte, quam proruerat, sese recipiebat, ac plerique ex his, ne in angustias inciderent, <de> x pedum munitione se in fossas pr<a>ecipitabant, primisque oppressis reliqui per horum corpora salutem sibi atque exitum pariebant. sinistro cornu 4 milites cum ex uallo Pompeium adesse et suos fugere cernerent, ueriti, ne angustiis intercluderentur, cum extra et intus hostem haberent, eodem, quo uenerant, receptu[i] sibi consulebant, omniaque erant tumultus, timoris, fugae plena, adeo ut, cum Caesar signa fugientium manu prenderet et con- 20 sistere iuberet, alii dimissis equis eundem cursum confugerent, alii ex metu etiam signa dimitterent, neque quisquam omnino consisteret.

1 70. His tantis malis haec subsidia succurrebant, quo minus omnis deleretur exercitus, quod Pompeius insidias timens, credo, quod haec pr<a>eter spem acciderant eius, qui paulo ante ex castris fugientis suos conspexerat, munitionibus adpropinquare aliquamdiu non audebat, equitesque eius 5 angustis <s>patis, atque his a Caesaris militibus occupatis, ad 2 insequendum tardabantur. ita paruae res magnum in utramque partem momentum habuerunt. munitiones enim a castris ad flumen perductae expugnatis iam castris Pompei

6 celeris *Faerno* : celeri | decumana *U' T'* decim- *D' L* || 7 conabatur *Estienne* : conatur | ultra *T* || 9 timens  $\beta$  tenens *D'* || 11 ea *Faerno* : ex || 12 proruerat *Chacon* : proruebat || 13 <de> *Oehler* | munitione *Nipperdey* : munitionis *D' L' V* -nēs *T* || 14 praecipitabant *Manuzio* : p̄cipitant || 18 receptu *F p. ras* : receptui || 19 plena *LFVE*<sup>2</sup> plenū *D' UT* || 20 cę(ce *L*)sar  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 21 dimissis] admissis *Faerno* | eundē *U' V* eūdē *L* eūdē *T* eon|dē *D* eodem *E* || 23 consisteret *L' V* -re *D' T*

70, 1 his  $\beta$  is *D'* | hęc *T'* hec *U'* h̄ *L* ex *D'* || 4 fugientes *D' FV* -tis *L UT* || 5 adppinquare *DU' T* app- *ELV* | aliquamdiu *D* aliquandiu *EU' T'* aliq̄diu<sup>///</sup> *L* || 6 spatiis *Buecheler* : portis || 9 p̄ductę (*UT'* -e *L* -is<sup>o</sup> *F*)  $\beta$  productę *D'*

prope iam expeditam Caesaris uictoriam interpellauerunt, 10  
eadem res celeritate insequentium tardata nostris salutem  
attulit.

1 71. Duobus his unius diei proeliis Caesar desiderauit  
milites DCCCCLX et notos eq(uites) R(omanos) [Fleginatem]  
Tuticanum Gallum, senatoris filium, C. Fleginatem Placentia,  
A. Granium Puteolis, M. Sacratuuirum Capua, tr(ibunos) mil(i-  
2 tum) L et centuriones XXXII; sed horum omnium pars magna 5  
in fossis munitionibusque et fluminis ripis oppressa suorum  
in terrore ac fuga sine ullo uulnere interiit; signaque sunt  
3 militaria amissa XXXII. Pompeius eo pr(o)elio imperator est  
appellatus, [hoc nomen obtinuit] atque ita se postea salutari  
passus, sed in litteris, quas scribere est solitus, (hoc non 10  
4 obtinuit) neque in fascibus insignia laureae pr(a)etulit. at  
Labienus cum ab eo impetrauisset, ut sibi captiuos tradi  
iuberet, omneis productos ostentationis, ut uidebatur, causa,  
quo maior perfugae fides haberetur, commilitones appellans  
et magna uerborum contumelia interrogans, solerentne uete- 15  
rani milites fugere, in omnium conspectu interfecit.

1 72. His rebus tantum fiduciae ac spiritus Pompeianis  
accessit, ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed uicisse iam  
2 sibi uiderentur. non illi paucitatem nostrorum militum, non  
iniquitatem loci atque angustias pr(a)eoccupatis castris et  
ancipitem terrorem intra extraque munitiones, non abscisum 5  
in duas partes exercitum, cum altera alteri auxilium ferre  
3 non posset, causae fuisse cogitabant. non ad haec addebant  
non ex concursu acri facto, non pr(o)elio dimicatum, sibi-

10 prope iam *Vossius* : propriam | expeditāqs *T*

71, 1 cesar *D' V* ce(ce *L'*)saris *L' T* || 2 fleĜinatem *D* felginatē *E*  
fleg(fleĝ *L* flec *V*)matē  $\beta$ , *del Nipperdey* || 3 flegmatē *L'* flecmatē *T'*  
felginatem *D'* || 4 agranium *D' U' T* agranū *L* | τῚ. mil. *L D* <sup>nos</sup> <sup>is</sup>  
*E* trib' mitt. *L* tr mitt (milt *F*) *U'* tr mill. *T* tribun' mili<sup>tu</sup>, *V* ||  
5 xxxii  $\beta$  .xxx. *D'* || 6 que  $\beta$ , *om D'* || 7 in  $\beta$ , *om D'* | interiit  
*D'LV* -rit *U' T* || 9 hoc nom obtinuit (opt- *ET*) *del Chacon* || 10 <hoc  
non obtinuit> *Buecheler* || 11 at *D'* ad  $\beta$  || 12 labien' *E* lauien' *D*  
labienū  $\beta$  || 13 omnes productos *Estienne* : om̄sq. ductos *D'* omnis  
(om̄s *T'*) reductos  $\beta$  || 16 infecit  $\beta$  -ficit *D'*

72, 3 sibi *om T'* || 4 <in> angustias *T'* || 6 alta *F* alter *D' L U T'* ||  
8 acri *r* : agri

que ipsos multitudine atque angustis maius attulisse detri-  
 4 mentum, quam ab hoste accepissent. non denique communis 10  
 belli casus recordabantur, quam paruulae saepe causae uel  
 falsae suspicionis uel terroris repentini uel obiectae religionis  
 magna detrimenta intulissent, quotiens uel ducis uitio uel  
 culpa tribuni in exercitu esset offensum; sed proinde ac si  
 uirtute uicissent neque ulla commutatio rerum posset accidere, 15  
 per orbem terrarum fama ac litteris uictoriam eius diei con-  
 celebrabant.

1        73. Caesar ab superioribus consiliis depulsus omnem sibi  
 2 commutandam belli rationem existimauit. itaque uno tempore  
 pr<a>esidiis omnibus deductis et oppugnatione dimissa coacto-  
 que in unum locum exercitu contionem apud milites habuit  
 hortatusque est, ne ea, quae accidissent, grauius ferrent neue 5  
 his rebus terrerentur multisque secundis pr<o>eliis unum ad-  
 3 uersum et id mediocre opponerent. habendam Fortunae gra-  
 tiam, quod Italiam sine aliquo uulnere cepissent, quod duas  
 Hispanias bellicosissimorum hominum peritissimis atque exer-  
 citatissimis ducibus pacauissent, quod finitimas frumentarias- 10  
 que prouincias in potestatem rede-gissent; denique recordari  
 debere, qua felicitate inter medias hostium classes oppletis  
 non solum portibus, sed etiam litoribus omnes incolumes  
 4 essent transportati. si n<on> omnia caderent secunda, Fortunam  
 esse industria subleuandam. quod esset acceptum detrimenti, 15  
 5 cuiusuis potius quam suae culpa debere tribui. locum se  
 <ae>cum ad dimicandum dedisse, potitum se esse hostium  
 castris, expulisse ac superasse pugnantes. sed siue ipsorum

9 angustis *U* -tiis *D' LFT'* || 10 com(ē *L*)munes *L' V* cōmunis *E*  
 cōmuni *DT* || 11 quam β quorum *D'* || 12 suspitionis *L' T* -tiones *D'*  
 -ciones *V* | tiores *V* | religiones *V* legionis *L* || 14 exercitu *D' V*  
 -tū *L' T* || 16 concelebrant *L pr. F pr. V*

73, 1 ab *D' U'* a *LT'* || 2 cō(ē *L*)mutandā *LUT* cōmmutandam *F*  
 cōmunitandā *V* adminu tandā *D* immutandā *E* || 4 exercitu *EL', T corr*  
 -tū *DT'* | concionē *T'* || 6 multis β multas *D* multa *E* || 8 cepissent *L*  
 coep- *DUT* cep- *EV* recep- *F* || 12 felicitate *D' UT'* facilitate  
*LF', U<sup>1</sup> uar* || 13 litoribus *D' U'* litt- *LT'* || 14 si n̄ *L<sup>2</sup>*: sin | fortunā  
*V, L corr* -na *D' L' T* || 15 esse β eēt *D'* | industriā *L'* | subleuan-  
 dam *L' V* -da *D' T* || 16 se aecum *Vettori*: secū *D' L' T* se eis *V* ||  
 17 potitum se esse (esse se *L pr. V pr*) β potis eē *D* potitos eē *E*



perturbatio siue error aliquis siue etiam Fortuna partam iam  
 pr<a>esentemque uictoriam interpellauisset, dandam omnibus 20  
 6 operam, ut acceptum incommodum uirtute sarciretur. quod  
 si esset factum, <adiuuante Fortuna se facturum,> ut detri-  
 mentum in bonum uerteret, uti ad Gergouiam accidisset, at-  
 que ei, qui ante dimicare timuissent, ultro se proelio offerrent.

1 74. Hac habita contione nonnullos signiferos ignominia  
 2 notauit ac loco mouit. exercitui quidem omni tantus incessit  
 ex incommodo dolor tantumque studium infamiae sarciendae,  
 ut nemo aut tribuni aut centurionis imperium desideraret et  
 sibi quisque etiam poenae loco grauiore imponeret labores 5  
 simulque omnes arderent cupiditate pugnandi, cum superioris  
 etiam ordinis nonnulli ratione permoti manendum eo loco et  
 3 rem proelio committendam existimarent. contra ea Caesar  
 neque satis militibus perterritis confidebat spatiumque inter-  
 ponendum ad recreandos animos putabat, relictis muniti- 10  
 bus magnopere rei frumentariae timebat.

1 75. Itaque nulla interposita mora sauciorum modo et  
 aegrorum habita ratione impedimenta omnia silentio prima  
 nocte ex castris Apolloniam praemisit. haec conquiescere ante  
 iter confectum uetuit. his una legio missa pr<a>esidio est.  
 2 his explicitis rebus duas in castris legiones retinuit, reliquas 5  
 de quarta uigilia compluribus portis eductas eodem itinere  
 pr<a>emisit paruoque spatio intermisso, ut et militare insti-  
 tutum seruaretur et quam *quietissima* eius profectio cogno-  
 sceretur, conclamari iussit statimque egressus et nouissimum  
 agmen consecutus celeriter ex conspectu castrorum discessit. 10  
 3 neque uero Pompeius cognito consilio eius moram ullam ad  
 insequendum intulit, sed eadem spectans, si itinere impeditos

19 error  $\beta$  tror  $D'$  | aliquis  $D'LFV$  aliq<sup>1</sup>  $UT$  | fortunę  $D$  | partē  $T'$  ||  
 22 <adiuuante -- facturum> *Buecheler* | ut -- 23 uerteret *post* 23 con-  
 tigis]set (*pro* accid-)  $V$  | ut *om*  $L$  || 23 gorgouiam  $L$  || 24 ei  $DL'T$   
 eis  $E$ , *om*  $V$

74, 2 mouit  $T$  (mo.<sup>uit</sup>  $F$ ) || 4 centurionis  $D'$  -nes  $\beta$  || 5 impo-  
 neret  $D'LUV$  ip-  $F$  inp-  $T$  || 6 cup(incup  $T$ )iditate pugnandi  $\beta$   
 pugnandi cupiditate  $D'$  || 10 relictisq;  $E$

75, 2 impedimta  $D'$ , *om*  $\beta$  | omni  $L'$  || 3 haec] ac  $L'$  || 4 confectū  
 $D'U'T$  fectum  $L$  effectū  $V$  || 8 quietissima *Buecheler* : suetissime ||  
 12 impeditos  $\beta$  impedimtos  $D$  impedito  $E$

perterritos deprendere posset, exercitum e castris eduxit equitatumque praemisit ad nouissimum agmen demorandum, neque consequi potuit, quod multum expedito itinere ante cesserat 15  
 4 Caesar. sed cum uentum esset ad flumen Genusum, quod ripis erat impeditis, consecutus equitatus nouissimos proelio  
 5 detinebat. huic suos Caesar equites opposuit expeditosque antesignanos admiscuit CCCC, qui tantum profecerunt, ut equestri proelio commisso pellerent omnes compluresque inter- 20  
 ficerent ipsique incolumes se ad agmen reciperent.

1 76. Confecto iusto itinere eius diei, quod proposuerat Caesar, traductoque exercitu flumen Genusum ueteribus suis in castris contra Asparagium consedit militesque omnes intra uallum castrorum continuit equitatumque per causam pabulandi emissum confestim decumana porta in castra se reci- 5  
 2 pere iussit. simili ratione Pompeius confecto eius diei itinere in suis ueteribus castris ad Asparagium consedit. eius milites, quod ab opere integris munitionibus uacabant, alii lignandi pabulandique causa longius progrediebantur, alii, quod subito consilium profectionis ceperant magna parte impedimentorum 10  
 et sarcinarum relictis, ad haec repetenda inuitati propinquitate superiorum castrorum depositis in contubernio armis uallum  
 4 relinquebant. quibus ad sequendum impeditis Caesar, quod fore prouiderat, meridiano fere tempore signo profectionis dato exercitum educit duplicatoque eius diei itinere VIII mil(ia) 15  
 passum ex eo loco procedit; quod facere Pompeius discessu militum non potuit.

1 77. Postero die Caesar similiter pr<a>emissis prima nocte impedimentis de quarta uigilia ipse egreditur, ut siqua esset imposita dimicandi necessitas, subitum casum expedito  
 2 exercitu subiret. hoc idem reliquis fecit diebus. quibus rebus perfectum est, ut altissimis fluminibus atque impeditissimis 5  
 3 itineribus nullum acciperet incommodum. Pompeius enim

13 pterritos *om V* | deprendere *DL* deprehendere *EU'T'* || 15 expedito *D'FVL*<sup>2</sup> expedito *LUT* || 17 impeditis *D'FT'* in- *LU*  
 —9 progrediebantur *om L* || 9 aliquod *U'T* aliquot *V* alii qđ *D'*,  
*T'corr* alii quid<sup>(2)</sup> *L* || 16 passū *DT* pasū *L* paš *U* paš *F* pas-  
 suū *EV*

77, 6 enī *om T'*

primi diei mora inlata et reliquorum dierum frustra labore suscepto cum se magnis itineribus extenderet et pr<a>egressos consequi cuperet, quarto die finem sequendi fecit atque aliud sibi consilium capiendum existimavit. 10

1 78. Caesari ad saucios deponendos, stipendium exercitui dandum, socios confirmandos, pr<a>esidium urbibus relinquen-  
2 dum necesse erat adire Apolloniam. sed his rebus tantum temporis tribuit, quantum erat properanti necesse; timens  
3 Domitio, ne aduentu Pompei pr<a>eoccuparetur, ad eum omni 5 celeritate et studio incitatus ferebatur. totius autem rei consilium his rationibus explicabat, ut si Pompeius eodem contenderet, abductum illum a mari atque ab [h]is copiis, quas Dyrrachi comparauerat, frumento ac commeatu abstractum pari conditione belli secum decertare cogeret; si in Italiam 10 transiret, coniuncto exercitu cum Domitio per Illyricum Italiae subsidio proficisceretur; si Apolloniam Oricumque oppugnare et se omni maritima ora excludere conaretur, obsesso Scipione  
4 necessario illum suis auxilium ferre cogeret. itaque pr<a>emissis nuntiis ad Cn. Domitium Caesar scripsit et, quid fieri 15 uellet, ostendit pr<a>esidioque Apolloniae cohortium III, Lissina, III Orici relictis, quique erant ex uulneribus aegri depositis per Epirum atque Athamaniam iter facere coepit.  
5 Pompeius quoque de Caesaris consilio coniectura iudicans ad Scipionem properandum sibi existimabat, si Caesar iter illo 20 haberet, ut subsidium Scipionem ferret, si ab ora maritima [ma] Oriciaque discedere nollet, quod legiones equitatumque

7 inlata (-lara L<sup>1</sup>) L' T ill- D' VL<sup>2</sup> || 9 quarto *Morus* : quarta<sup>ta</sup> (III. E)

78, 1 Cae(Ce F)sari β Cæsar D' || 3 [adire] ire T' || 5 ad eum β, om D' | omni D' L' V omē T || 8 is : his || 9 dyrrachi DLUT dirrachii EFV || 10 condicione V || 11 transiret EL -ire DU' T' | illyricū T ylliricū D illiricum (illicū U) EL' V || 12 oricum FT' orycum D' LU | oppugnare DL obpugnare U' T oppugnaret E expugnare V || 13 se Aldo : si | maritima DLT -tima EU' V || 15 cae(ce U)sar D' L' cæsari T cæsar ei V || 17 orici DU' T' oryci L oryci E || 18 Athamaniam *Drumann conl. Plut. Pomp. 66* : ἐβάρηξε δι' Ἀθαμάνων εἰς Θετταλίαν : acarnaniam DL' acarniā ET acharniā V | coepit DLU cę- ET ce- FV ||

19 coniectura β -rā D' || 21 scipionē<sup>i</sup> L scipioni D' U' T' | maritima

DLT -tima EU' V || 22 Oricia *Markland* : corycia L coricia U' T coritio V macorytia D mar(r ex o?)oritia E



ex Italia expectaret, ipse ut omnibus copiis Domitium aggrederetur.

1       **79.** His de causis uterque eorum celeritati studebat, et  
suis ut esset auxilio, <et> ad opprimendos aduersarios ne oc-  
2 casionei temporis deesset. sed Caesarem Apollonia a directo  
itinere auerterat; Pompeius per Candauiam iter in Macedo-  
3 niam expeditum habebat. accessit etiam ex inproviso aliud 5  
incommodum, quod Domitius <cum> dies complures castris  
Scipionis castra conlata habuisset, rei frumentariae causa ab  
eo discesserat et Heracliam [Senticam], quae est subiecta Can-  
dauiae, iter fecerat, ut ipsa Fortuna illum obicere Pompeio  
4 uideretur. haec ad id tempus Caesar ignorabat. simul a 10  
Pompeio litteris per omnes prouincias ciuitatesque dimissis  
de pr<o>elio ad Dyrrachium facto latius inflatusque multo,  
quam res erat gesta, fama percrebruerat pulsum fugere Caesarem  
paene omnibus copiis amissis. haec itinera infesta red-  
diderat, haec ciuitates nonnullas ab eius amicitia auertebat. 15  
5 quibus accidit rebus, ut pluribus dimissi[s] itineribus a Caesare  
ad Domitium et a Domitio ad Caesarem nulla ratione  
6 iter conficere possent. sed Allobroges, Roucilli atque Aeci  
familiares, quos perfugisse ad Pompeium demonstrauius,  
conspicati in itinere exploratores Domiti, seu pristina sua 20  
consuetudine, quod una in Gallia bella gesserant, seu gloria  
elati, cuncta, ut erant acta, exposuerunt et Caesaris pro-  
7 fectionem, aduentum Pompei docuerunt. a quibus Domitius  
certior factus uix IIII horarum spatio ante cedens hostium  
beneficio periculum uitauit et ad Aeginium, quod est ob- 25  
iectum oppositumque Thessaliae, Caesari uenienti occurrit.

23 expectaret *EL* spectaret *DU'T'* | aggrederet<sup>2</sup> *D'V* adgrederetur *L'T*

**79**, 2 <et> *Aldo* || 2 occasione *LT* -ni *U'V* occasio *D'* ||  
3 directo *LUT* directo *FVL*<sup>2</sup> recto *D'* || 6 <cum> *Paul* || 7 conlata  
*DLU* clō- *T* colla- *EFV* || 8 senticam (& senticā *V*) *del Cellarius* ||  
11 dimissis *D'LV* dem- *U'T* || 12 de *E*, om *Dβ* | dyrrachiū *D'U*  
dyrrachium *L* dirrachīū *FT'* | lat(lac *T*)ius] elatius *Chacon* || 13 pre-  
bruerat *DLFV* prebu- *EUT* || 14 copiis amissis *β* amissis copiis *D*  
amissis *E* || 16 plurib. *β* plurimis *D'* plurimi *Ep. ras* | dimissi *Rhelli-*  
*canus* : dimissis || 18 Roucilli *cod. Petauianus* : rouici *D'L'T* *Rog-*  
*gilli* /// *V* | eci *U* ecy *F* eci *DLT* eti *E* egi *V* || 20 in *E*, om *Dβ* |  
domiti *LU* -tii *D'FT'* || 25 obiectum] abiectū *D* || 26 tessalię *U'*

1        80. Coniuncto exercitu Caesar Gomphos peruenit, quod  
 est oppidum primum Thessaliae uenientibus ab Epiro; quae  
 gens paucis ante mensibus ultro ad Caesarem legatos miserat,  
 ut suis omnibus facultatibus uteretur, pr<a>esidiumque ab eo  
 2 militum petierat. sed eo fama iam pr<a>ecurrerat, quam supra 5  
 docuimus, de pr<o>elio Dyrrachino, quod multis auxerat par-  
 3 tibus. itaque Androst<h>enes, pr<a>etor Thessaliae, cum se  
 uictoriae Pompei comitem esse mallet quam socium Caesaris  
 in rebus aduersis, omnem ex agris multitudinem seruorum ac  
 liberorum in oppidum cogit portasque pr<a>ecludit et ad 10  
 Scipionem Pompeiumque nuntios mittit, ut sibi subsidio  
 ueniant: se confidere munitionibus oppidi, si celeriter succur-  
 4 ratur; longinquam oppugnationem sustinere non posse. Scipio  
 discessu exercitum ab Dyrrachio cognito Larisam legiones ad-  
 5 duxerat; Pompeius nondum Thessaliae appropinquabat. Caesar 15  
 castris munitis scalas musculosque ad repentinam oppugna-  
 6 tionem fieri et crates parari iussit. quibus rebus effectis  
 cohortatus milites docuit, quantum usum haberet ad suble-  
 uandam omnium rerum inopiam potiri oppido pleno atque  
 opulento, simul reliquis ciuitatibus huius urbis exemplo in- 20  
 ferre terrorem et id fieri celeriter, priusquam auxilia concur-  
 7 rerent. itaque usus singulari militum studio eodem, quo  
 uenerat, die post horam nonam oppidum altissimis moenibus  
 oppugnare adgressus ante solis occasum expugnauit et ad  
 diripiendum militibus concessit statimque ab oppido castra 25  
 mouit et Metropolin uenit, sic ut nuntios expugnati oppidi  
 famamque ante cederet.

1        81. Metropolitae primum eodem usu consilio, isdem per-

80, 1 gompho<sup>s</sup> V gonphos (-fos F) L' T gimphos D gymphos E ||  
 2 thessaliae D'LV thesalię T tessalię (-e F) U' | epiro DLF  
 epyro EUT' || 4 ut β tot D' || 5 precurrerat D'LU<sup>1</sup>T precurrerat  
 FVV<sup>2</sup> || 6 dyrrachino D'LU<sup>1</sup>T dirr- FV | auxerat D' -ant β ||  
 7 thessalię D'LT' -ie U tessalię F || 8 cae(ce U')saris β, om D' ||  
 12 succurratur β succurrat D succurrant E || 14 exercitum L<sup>1</sup>UT  
 -tuum VL<sup>2</sup> -tus D'F | dyrrachio D'LU<sup>1</sup>T dirr- FV | larissā V ||  
 15 thessalię (-e EL) D'LU<sup>1</sup>T tessalię F | appropinquabat D'LV  
 adpropinquabat U'T || 24 adgressus L'T agr- D aggr- EV ||  
 26 metropolī D'U'T -lim LV | nuntios L nuntius D'UT' nun-  
 cius F || 27 famamq. L'T famā V fama. D'

81, 1 pm<sup>1</sup>ō<sup>7</sup> T | isdem LUT' hisdē DF iisdē E



moti rumoribus portas clausurunt murosque armatis comple-  
uerunt, sed postea casu ciuitatis Gomphensis cognito ex  
captiuis, quos Caesar ad murum producendos curauerat, portas  
2 aperuerunt. quibus diligentissime conseruatis, conlata fortuna 5  
Metropolitum cum casu Gomphensium nulla Thessaliae fuit  
ciuitas praeter Larisacos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis  
tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent.  
3 ille idoneum locum in agris nactus <ad frumentorum com-  
meatus>, quae prope iam matura erant, ibi aduentum ex- 10  
pectare Pompei eoque omnem belli rationem conferre constituit.

1 82. Pompeius paucis post diebus in Thessaliam per-  
uenit contionatusque apud eunctum exercitum suis agit gra-  
tias, Scipionis milites cohortatur, ut parta iam uictoria  
pr<a>edae ac pr<a>emiorum uelint esse participes, receptisque  
omnibus in una castra legionibus suum cum Scipione hono- 5  
rem partitur classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi iubet  
2 pr<a>etorium tendi. auctis copiis Pompei duobusque magnis  
exercitibus coniunctis pristina omnium confirmatur opinio et  
spes uictoriae augetur, adeo ut, quicquid intercederet tem-  
poris, id morari reditum in Italiam uideretur, et siquando 10  
quid Pompeius tardius aut consideratius faceret, unius esse  
negotium diei, sed illum delectari imperio et consulares  
3 pr<a>etoriosque seruorum habere numero dicerent. iamque  
inter se palam de imperiis ac de sacerdotiis contendebant in  
annosque consulatum definiebant, alii domos bonaque eorum, 15  
4 qui in castris erant Caesaris, petebant; magnaue inter eos  
in consilio fuit controuersia, oporteretne Luci<li> Hirri, quod  
is a Pompeio ad Parthos missus esset, proximis comitiis  
pr<a>etoriis absentis rationem haberi, cum eius necessari  
fidem implorarent Pompei, pr<a>estaret, quod proficiscenti 20

3 Gomphensis *Chacon* : comprensis *DL*<sup>1</sup> cōprensē *E* cōpressis *U' T*  
com-|psse *V*, del *L*<sup>2</sup> || 6 gomphensium *DLV* gomfensiū ueñ. *T*  
gymphensiū *E* || 7 larisacos *L*<sup>2</sup> larisa eos *DL*<sup>1</sup> larisá eos *T* larisā  
eos *U'* lariseseos *V* lariseos *E* || 9 <ad frumentorum commeatus>  
*Buecheler* || 10 que *D'UT'* que *LF* | erant *EUT'* erat *DLF*, *U corr*

82, 14 imperiis *Paul* : p̄miis | de *LFT*, *U corr*, om *D'U pr V* ||  
15 alii β aliiq. *D'* || 17 Lucilii Hirri *Nipperdey* : luci hirri *U' T*  
luci (.L. *V*) hyrri *LV* lurrichi *D'* || 18 parthos *D'VL*<sup>2</sup> arthos *L' T* ||  
19 necessari *LT* -rii *D'U' V*



recepisset, ne per eius auctoritatem deceptus uideretur, reliqui, in labore pari ac periculo ne unus omnes ante cederet, recusarent.

1        83. Iam de sacerdotio Caesaris Domitius, Scipio Spinterq(ue) Lentulus cotidianis contentionibus ad grauissimas uerborum contumelias palam descenderunt, cum Lentulus aetatis honorem ostentaret, Domitius urbanam gratiam dignitatemque iactaret, Scipio affinitate Pompei confideret. postulauit etiam L. Afranium proditoris exercitus Acutius Rufus apud Pompeium, quod gestum in Hispania diceret. et L. Domitius in consilio dixit placere sibi bello confecto ternas tabellas dari ad iudicandum is, qui ordinis essent senatorii belloque una cum ipsis interfuissent, sententiasque de singulis ferrent, qui Romae remansissent quique intra praesidia Pompei fuissent neque operam in re militari praestitissent: unam fore tabellam, qui liberandos omni periculo censerent, alteram, qui capitis damnarent, tertiam, qui pecunia multarent. postremo omnes aut de honoribus suis aut de praemiis pecuniae aut de persequendis inimicitiis agebant, nec, quibus rationibus superare possent, sed quemadmodum uti uictoria deberent, cogitabant.

1        84. Re frumentaria praeparata confirmatisque militibus et satis longo spatio temporis a Dyrrachinis proeliis intermisso, quo satis perspectum habere <Caesar animum> militum uideretur, temptandum existimauit, quidnam Pompeius propositi aut uoluntatis ad dimicandum haberet. itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit aciemque instruxit, primum suis locis pauloque a castris Pompei longius, continentibus uero diebus, ut progredere a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subiceret. quae res in dies confirmationem eius exercitum efficiebat. superius tamen institutum in equitibus, quod de-

83, 5 affinitate *D'* -ti *V* adfinitate *L'* -tē *T* || 6 actius *L'* || 7 quod — diceret *del Paul* || 9 is *T* iis *LU* his *D' FV* || 14 qui *ET' L<sup>2</sup>* in *DL'* | damnarent *ELU* dāpn- *DFT'* | pecunia *UV*, *L corr* -niā *D' LFT* || 16 inimicit(-c *FT*)iis *β* inimicis *D'* | nec *EVL<sup>2</sup>* ne *DL'T*

84, 2 dyrrachinis *DLU* dirr- *EFT'* || 3 <Caesar animum> *Buecheler* || 4 existimauit *L* || 5 ex castris exercitū *β* exercitū ex(e *D*)-castris *D'* || 6 p̄mū *E* primus *DL'V* primo *T*

monstrauimus, seruabat, ut quoniam numero multis partibus  
 esset inferior, adulescentes atque expeditos ex antesignanis  
 electis milites ad pernicitatem armis inter equites proeliari  
 iuberet, qui cotidiana consuetudine usum quoque eius generis  
 4 proeliorum perciperent. his erat rebus effectum, ut equitum 15  
 mille etiam apertioribus locis VII mil(ium) Pompeianorum  
 impetum, cum adesset usus, sustinere auderent neque magno-  
 5 pere eorum multitudine terrerentur. namque etiam per eos  
 dies proelium secundum equestre fecit atque <A>ecum Allo-  
 brogem ex duobus, quos perfugisse ad Pompeium supra do- 20  
 cuimus, cum quibusdam interfecit.

1 85. Pompeius, qui castra in colle habebat, ad infimas  
 radices montis aciem instruebat, semper, ut uidebatur, ex-  
 2 pectans, si iniquis locis Caesar se subiceret. <Caesar> nulla  
 ratione ad pugnam elici posse Pompeium existimans hanc sibi  
 commodissimam belli rationem iudicauit, uti castra ex eo 5  
 loco moueret semperque esset in itineribus, haec spectans, ut  
 mouendis castris pluribusque adeundis locis commodiore fru-  
 mentaria re uteretur, simulque in itinere ut aliquam occasio-  
 nem dimicandi nancisceretur et insolitum ad laborem Pompei  
 3 exercitum cotidianis itineribus defatigaret. his constitutis 10  
 rebus, signo iam profectionis dato tabernaculisque detensis  
 animum aduersum est paulo ante extra cotidianam consuetu-  
 dinem longius a uallo esse aciem Pompei progressam, ut non  
 4 iniquo loco posse dimicarei uideretur. tunc Caesar apud  
 suos, cum iam esset agmen in portis, 'differendum est' in- 15  
 quit 'iter in pr<a>esentia nobis et de proelio cogitandum,  
 sicut semper depoposcimus. animo simus ad dimicandum  
 parati; non facile occasionem postea reperiemus.' confestim-  
 que expeditas copias educit.

12 adulescentes *DFT* adol- *ELUV* || 13 milites *del Nipperdey* ||  
 14 iuberet *L'* iubet *D'T'* || 15 e(e *V*)quitum] equites *L<sup>2</sup>* || 16 VII  
 mit † *L* VII mille *U'* VII. milia *T* .VII. mill *V* .VII. mit. *D* .VII. *E* ||  
 19 Aecum *scripsi* (ἄνω): egū *V* unicum *L'T* uincum *L<sup>2</sup>* unū *D'*

85, 1 qui β quia *D'* || 3 post locis 3 litterarum spatium *E* | se  
 subiceret β, om *D'* | <cesar> *L<sup>2</sup>* || 6 hec *T'* hec *L'* hoc *D'* | spectans  
*Vascosan* : sperans || 12 animū aduersū *DLUT* animaduersū *EFV* ||  
 14 dimicare† *T* -ri *D'L'V* | Tunc *D'L'T* *Tū V* | 17 sic *D* sicut *EL<sup>2</sup>*  
 Sicut *L* si ut *U'T'* | simus *Manuzio* : sumus β siuis *D'* || 18 repe-  
 riemus *D'LU* pr reperiem' *FT'*, *U* corr

1 86. Pompeius quoque, ut postea cognitum est, suorum  
 omnium hortatu statuerat pr<o>elio decertare. namque etiam  
 in consilio superioribus diebus dixerat, priusquam concur-  
 2 rerent acies, fore uti exercitus Caesaris pelleretur. id cum  
 essent plerique ammirati, 'scio me' inquit 'paene incredibili 5  
 lem rem polliceri; sed rationem consilii mei accipite, quo  
 3 firmiore animo in proelium prodeatis. persuasi equitibus no-  
 stris, idque mihi facturos confirmauerunt, ut cum propius sit  
 accessum, dextrum Caesaris cornu ab latere aperto aggrede-  
 rentur et circumuenta ab tergo acie prius perturbatum exer- 10  
 citum pellerent, quam a nobis telum in hostem iaceretur.  
 4 ita sine periculo legionum et paene sine uulnere bellum con-  
 ficiemus. id autem difficile non est, cum tantum equitatu  
 5 ualeamus.' simul denuntiauit, ut essent animo parati in  
 posterum et, quoniam fieret dimicandi potestas, ut saepe 15  
 cogitauissent, ne [u]su<a> manu reliquorum opinionem  
 fallerent.

1 87. Hunc Labienus excepit et, cum Caesaris copias  
 despiceret, Pompei consilium summis laudibus efferret, 'noli'  
 inquit 'existimare, Pompei, hunc esse exercitum, qui Galliam  
 2 Germaniamque deuicerit. omnibus interfui proeliis neque  
 temere incognitam rem pronuntio. perexigua pars illius exer- 5  
 citus super est; magna pars deperit, quod accidere tot proeliis  
 fuit necesse, multos autumnus pestilentia in Italia consumpsit,  
 multi domum discesserunt, multi sunt relictis in continenti.  
 3 an non audistis ex his, qui per causam ualitudinis remanse-  
 4 runt, cohortes esse Brundisi factas? hae copiae, quas uidetis, 10  
 ex dilecti<bu>s horum annorum in citeriore Gallia sunt re-

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86, 4 pelleretur *om T'* || 5 ammirati *D* admirati *ELUT'* mirati *F* ||  
 7 in *E* ī *L*<sup>2</sup>, *om Dβ* | proelium *L* plīū *D'T'* plio *U'* || 8 facturos *β*  
 facturus *D* facturi *E* || 9 aggredierentur *D'V* adgr- *L'T* || 10 ab  
*DL'T* a *EV* || 15 fieret *D'L'T'* fieri *V* || 16 sua manu *Buecheler* :  
 usu manu *Dβ* usu manus *F* usu manu *q*; *E*

87, 5 pronuntio *D'LT'* pnūtiatio *F* pñciatio *U* || 6 sup ē (≠ *T*  
 est *L*) *β* ē|supē *D* en supē *E* || 8 continenti *EL'* continentia *DT'* ||  
 9 audistis *E* exaudistis *Dβ* | is : his | ualitudinis *D'T'F*<sup>2</sup> ualetu-  
 dineis *L* ualetudine his *U'* || 11 dilectibus *Leid.* 38, delectibus *Ma-*  
*nuzio* : delictis *L*<sup>1</sup> dilectis *U'T* delectis *VL*<sup>2</sup> dilec *D* dilectv *E* |  
 citeriore *β* citeriori *D'*



fectae, et plerique sunt ex colonis Transpadanis. ac tamen,  
 5 quod fuit roboris, duobus proeliis Dyrrachinis interiit.' haec  
 cum dixisset, iuravit se nisi uictorem in castra non reuersu-  
 6 rum reliquosque, ut idem facerent, hortatus est. hoc laudans 15  
 Pompeius idem iuravit; nec uero ex reliquis fuit quisquam,  
 7 qui iurare dubitaret. haec cum facta sunt in consilio, magna  
 spe et laetitia omnium discessum est; ac iam animo uictoriam  
 pr<a>ecipiebant, quod de re tanta et a tam perito imperatore  
 nihil frustra confirmari uidebatur. 20

1 88. Caesar cum Pompei castris appropinquasset, ad hunc  
 2 modum aciem eius instructam animum aduertit. erant in  
 sinistro cornu legiones duae traditae a Caesare initio dissen-  
 sionis ex s(enatus) c(onsulto); quarum una prima, altera tertia  
 3 appellabatur. in eo loco ipse erat Pompeius. mediam aciem 5  
 Scipio cum legionibus Syriacis tenebat. Ciliciensis legio con-  
 iuncta cum cohortibus Hispanis, quas traductas ab Afranio  
 4 docuimus, in dextro cornu erant conlocatae. has firmissimas  
 se habere Pompeius existimabat. reliquas inter aciem mediam  
 cornuaque interiecerat numeroque cohortes CX expleuerat. 10  
 5 haec erant [numero] milia XLV, euocatorum circiter duo, quae  
 ex beneficiariis superiorum exercitum ad eum conuenerant;  
 quae tota acie disperserat. reliquas cohorteis VII in castris  
 6 propinquisque castellis pr<a>esidio disposuerat. dextrum cornu  
 eius riuus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat; quam ob causam 15  
 cunctum equitatum, sagittarios funditoresque omnes sinistro  
 cornu obiecerat.

12 colonis *DL'T* -niis *EV* | ac *Dβ* at *E*, *U corr* || 13 dyrrachinis  
*D'UV* dyrracinis *L* dirrachinis *FT* || 18 et — uictoriam *om L* ||  
 19 ꝑicipi(cipi *in ras V*)ebant *U'T'* ciebāt<sup>2(2)</sup> *L* ꝑcipiebant *D'* | a *β*  
 de *D'*

88, 1 appropinquasset *D'LV* adpr- *U'T* || 2 animū aduertit  
*DL'T* animaduertit *EV* || 4 una *T'L<sup>2</sup>*, *om D'L'* || 6 Ciliciensis *Lips* :  
 cilicensis *DL'T* Ciliensis *E* Ciciliensis *V* || 7 cum cohortib. *om U'* |  
 ab Afranio *Aldo* : ab e(æ *EF*)ra(aero *T*)nio *D'L'T*, *om V* || 8 con-  
 locatę (-e *T*) *DLT* collocatę (-e *U*) *EU'V* || 9 aciē mediā *L'* acies  
 mediā *T* acies medias *V* ac(at *D*)ies media *D'* || 10 interiecerat *L'V*  
 -rant *D'T* | expleuerat *β* -rant *D'* || 11 numero *U'*, *om D'LT'* |  
 mit *U'* || 12 exercitū *L'* -tuū *D'T'L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>* | conuenerant *D'* conuerte-  
 rant *β* || 13 cohortes *D'FV* -tis *LUT* | in *T*, *om D'LV*

1       **89.** Caesar superius institutum seruans x leg(ionem) in  
 dextro cornu, nonam in sinistro conlocauerat, tam etsi erat  
 Dyrrachinis proeliis uehementer adtenuata, et huic sic ad-  
 iunxit octauam, ut paene unam ex duabus efficeret, atque  
 2 alteram alteri pr<a>esidio esse iusserat. cohortes in acie 5  
 LXXX constitutas habebat, quae summa erat mil(ium) XXII;  
 3 cohortes <v>II castris pr<a>esidio reliquerat. sinistro cornu  
 Antonium, dextro P. Syllam, media acie Cn. Domitium pr<a>e-  
 4 posuerat. ipse contra Pompeium constitit. simul his rebus  
 animaduersis, quas demonstrauius, timens, ne a multitudine 10  
 equitum dextrum cornu circumueniretur, celeriter ex tertia  
 acie singulas cohortes detraxit atque ex his quartam instituit  
 equitatuque opposuit et, quid fieri uellet, ostendit monuit-  
 que eius diei uictoriam in earum cohortium uirtute constare.  
 5 simul tertiae aciei totique exercitui imperauit, ne iniussu 15  
 suo concurrerent; se cum id fieri uellet, uexillo signum  
 daturum.

1       **90.** Exercitum cum militari more ad pugnam cohortare-  
 tur suaque in eum perpetui temporis officia pr<a>edicaret, in  
 primis commemorauit testibus se militibus uti posse, quanto  
 studio pacem petisset, quae per Vatinius in conloquis, quae  
 per Aulum Claudium cum Scipione egisset, quibus modis ad 5  
 2 Oricum cum Libone de mittendis legatis contendisset. neque  
 se umquam abuti militum sanguine neque rem p(ublicam)  
 3 alterutro exercitu priuare uoluisse. hac habita oratione  
 exposcentibus militibus et studio pugnae ardentibus tuba  
 signum dedit. 10

**89, 2** nonam *D'LFV IX U n̄ iā T* | conlocauerat *DLT* coll-  
*EU' V* | erat *L'* erant *D'T'* || **3** dyrrachinis *D'UV* dyrachinis *L*  
 dyrracinis *T* dirrachinis *F'* | attenuata *L'* adtenuate *D'T'* attenuate  
*EV* | huic *β* hunc *D'* | adiunxit octauā (octauiam *L<sup>1</sup>* .VIII. *U*) *L'*  
 ad octauā (VIII *E*) *D'T'* || **4** unam *om U'* || **7** VII *Moehring* : II (duas *E*) ||  
**8** syllam *D' LUT* sillā *FV* | Cn. — **12** acie *om T* | preposuerat *L' V*  
 pp- *D'* || **11** t̄tia *D* t̄rcia *EV* t̄na *L'* || **13** fieri *D' U' T' L<sup>2</sup>* ferit *L<sup>1</sup>* ||  
**16** concurrerent *E* -ret *Dβ* | se *β* sed *D'*

**90, 4** <sup>i</sup>cloquis *D* conloquiis *LT'* colloquiis *EU'* || **5** aulum *Dβ*  
 aul  
 A *E* | Clodium *Vascosan* || **6** oricū *U' T'* orycū *D'LV* || **7** un-  
 quam *EU*

1       **91.** Erat Crastinus euocatus in exercitu Caesaris, qui  
 2 superiore anno apud eum primum pilum in leg(ione) x  
 3 duxerat, uir singulari uirtute. hic signo dato 'sequimini me'  
 4 inquit 'manipulares mei qui fuistis, et uestro imperatori,  
 5 quam constituistis, operam date. unum hoc pr<o>elium super  
 6 est; quo confecto et ille suam dignitatem et nos nostram  
 7 libertatem recuperabimus.' simul respiciens Caesarem 'faciam'  
 8 inquit 'hodie, imperator, ut aut uiuo mihi aut mortuo gra-  
 9 tias agas.' haec cum dixisset, primus ex dextro cornu pro-  
 10 currebat atque eum electi milites circiter CXX uoluntarij eius-  
 11 dem centuriae sunt persecuti.

1       **92.** Inter duas acies tantum erat relictum spatii, ut  
 2 satis esset ad concursum utriusque exercitus. sed Pompeius  
 3 suis pr<a>edixerat, ut Caesaris impetum exciperent neue se  
 4 loco mouerent aciemque eius distrahe*i* paterentur; idque am-  
 5 monitu C. Triarii fecisse dicebatur, ut primus excursus uis-  
 6 que militum infringeretur aciesque distenderetur, atque in  
 7 suis ordinibus dispositi dispersos adorirentur; leuiusque casura  
 8 pila sperabat in loco retentis militibus, quam si ipsi inmissis  
 9 telis occurrissent, simul fore, ut duplicato cursu Caesaris  
 10 milites exanimarentur et lassitudine conficerentur. quod nobis  
 11 quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio uidetur, propterea  
 12 quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter  
 13 innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur. hanc non  
 14 reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent; neque frustra anti-  
 15 quitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent clamorem-  
 16 que uniuersi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos  
 17 incitari existimauerunt.

**91,** 3 hic  $\beta$  hoc  $D'$  || 4 inquit  $LT$  || 8 inquit  $D'U'$  -id  $LT'$  ||  
 10 uoluntarii  $D'T'$  -ie  $F$  -ie  $\bar{U}$  -iae  $L$

**92,** 3 ut  $D'T'$  neut<sup>(2)</sup>  $L$  ne  $U'$  | neue] neq.  $U'$  || 4 distrahi (-ai  
 $F$ )  $D'U'T'L^2$  distrahit  $L^1$  | ammonitu  $D'$  adm-  $\beta$  || 5 dicebatur]  
 uidebat<sup>2</sup>  $U'$  || 6 in  $\beta$ , om  $D'$  || 7 adorirent<sup>2</sup>  $D'T'L^2F^2$  adorirentur  $L$   
 adorerentur  $U'$  | casura  $\beta$  cursura  $D'$  || 9 fore  $\beta$  forte  $D'$  || 10 ex-  
 animarentur *Aldo*: existimarentur (-nt  $F$ ) | et  $D'$  quod et  $\beta$   $\bar{q}$   $U^2mg$  ||  
 11 uideret<sup>2</sup>  $T'$  || 13 que  $T'L^2$  q;  $L'$  qui  $D'$  | incenditur  $\beta$  -dunt<sup>2</sup>  
 $D'$  || 14 im(in  $T$ )peratores debent  $\beta D^2$  imperatore (-res  $E$ ) sole-  
 bant  $D'$



1       **93.** Sed nostri milites dato signo cum infestis pilis  
 procucurrissent atque animum aduertissent non concurreri a  
 Pompeianis, usu periti ac superioribus pugnis exercitati sua  
 sponte cursum represserunt et ad medium fere spatium con-  
 stiterunt, ne consumptis uiribus appropinquarent, paruoque 5  
 intermisso temporis spatio ac rursus renouato cursu pila  
 miserunt celeriterque, ut erat pr<a>ceptum a Caesare, gla-  
 2 dios strinxerunt. neque uero Pompeiani huic rei defuerunt.  
 nam et tela missa exceperunt et impetum legionum tulerunt  
 et ordines conseruarunt pilisque missis ad gladios redierunt. 10  
 3 eodem tempore equites ab sinistro Pompei cornu, ut erat  
 imperatum, uniuersi procucurrerunt, omnisque multitudo sagit-  
 4 tiorum se profudit. quorum impetum noster equitatus non  
 tulit, sed paulatim loco motus cessit, equitesque Pompei hoc  
 acrius instare et se turmatim explicare aciemque nostram a 15  
 5 latere aperto circumire coeperunt. quod ubi Caesar animum  
 aduertit, quartae aciei, quam instituerat <s>ex cohortium  
 6 numero, dedit signum. illae celeriter procucurrerunt in-  
 festisque signis tanta ui in Pompei equites impetum fecerunt,  
 ut eorum nemo consisteret omnesque conuersi non solum loco 20  
 excederent, sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos pete-  
 7 rent. quibus submotis omnes sagittarii funditoresque desti-  
 8 tuti inermes sine pr<a>esidio interfecti sunt. eodem impetu  
 cohortes sinistrum cornu pugnantibus etiam tum ac resisten-  
 tibus in acie Pompeianis circum ierunt, eosque a tergo sunt 25  
 adorti.

1       **94.** Eodem tempore tertiam aciem Caesar quae quieta

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**93,** 1 dato signo  $\beta$  signo dato  $D'$  | pilis *om*  $U'$  || 2 animaduer-  
 tissent  $EF$  | concurreri  $D'T'$  curri  $L'$  || 4 cursum  $\beta$  se  $E$ , *om*  $D$  ||  
 5 ne] | non  $L$  | appropinquarent  $D'V$  adpr-  $L'T$  || 8 strixerunt  $T'$  |  
 defuerant  $T'$  || 10 ordines  $LT'$  ordines suos  $U'$  ordinē  $D'$  || 11 ut  
 erat  $\beta$  intenti  $D'$  || 14 paulatī  $E$  paula/m  $D$  paulum  $L'V$  paulō  $T'$  ||  
 16 coepeñ  $LUT$  ceperēt  $E$  ceperunt  $DFV$  | animadūtīt  $E$  || 17 sex  
*Orsini*, *ix Paul* : ex | cohortium (cohorciū  $F$ ) numero  $D'L'$  cohort-  
 tib.  $T'$  || 18 Ille  $U$  ille  $D'L^1FT'$  illi  $L^2$  | ꝑcucurrerunt  $U'T'$   
 procucurrunt  $L$  ꝑcucur|curr'  $D$  ꝑcucurrit  $E$  || 20 omnes  $D'L'V$   
 omīs  $T$  || 22 sūmotis  $U'$  || 23 inermes *del Paul* || 24 sinistrum  $LFT'$ ,  
*U corr* sinistro  $D'Upr$  | pugnantibus  $D'L$  impugnantibus  $T'$  op-  
 pugnantēs  $L^2$

fuerat et se ad id tempus loco tenuerat, procurrere iussit.  
 2 ita cum recentes atque integri defessis successissent, alii  
 autem a tergo adorirentur, sustinere Pompeiani non potuerunt  
 3 atque uniuersi terga uerterunt. neque uero Caesarem fefellit, 5  
 quin ab [h]is cohortibus, quae contra equitatum in quarta  
 acie conlocatae essent, initium uictoriae oriretur, ut ipse in  
 4 cohortandis militibus pronuntiauerat. ab his enim primum  
 equitatus est pulsus, ab isdem factae caedes sagittariorum ac  
 funditorum, ab isdem acies Pompeiana a sinistra parte erat 10  
 5 circumita atque initium fugae factum. sed Pompeius ut equi-  
 tatum suum pulsum uidit atque eam partem, cui maxime con-  
 fidebat, perterritam animum aduertit, aliis[q;] diffusus acie  
 excessit protinusque se in castra equo contulit et [h]is cen-  
 turionibus, quos in statione ad pr<a>etoriam portam posuerat, 15  
 clare, ut milites exaudirent, 'tuemini' inquit 'castra et de-  
 fendite diligenter, siquid durius acciderit. ego reliquas portas  
 6 circumeo et castrorum pr<a>esidia confirmo.' haec cum  
 dixisset, se in pr<a>etorium contulit summae rei diffidens et  
 tamen euentum expectans. 20

1 **95.** Caesar Pompeianis ex fuga intra uallum compulsis  
 nullum spatium perterritis darei oportere existimans milites  
 cohortatus est, ut beneficio Fortunae uterentur castraque  
 2 oppugnarent. qui, etsi magno aestu (nam ad meridiem res  
 erat perducta), tamen ad omnem laborem animo parati im- 5  
 3 perio paruerunt. castra a cohortibus, quae ibi pr<a>esidio  
 erant relictæ, industrie defendebantur, multo etiam acrius a  
 4 Thracibus barbarisque auxiliis. nam qui acie refugerant mi-  
 lites, et animo perterriti et lassitudine confecti, missis ple-  
 rique armis signisque militaribus magis de reliqua fuga quam 10

**94,** 2 procurrere *r* : precurrere *EL* ꝑcucurrere *DU'T'* || 4 ad-  
 orerentur *L<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>* || 5 neque —11 factum *del Bentley* || 6 is : his || 7 con-  
 locatę (-e *F'*) *U'* collocatę (-e *LT'*) *ELT'* conlocata *D* | oreretur *L'* ||  
 9 isdē *L'T* iisdē *E* hisdē *DV* | factae —10 isdem *om L* || 10 isdē  
*FT* iisdē *E* hisdem *DV* || 12 eam] maximā *V* | maxime *om V* ||  
 13 aliis *Manuzio* : aliisq; *D'T'* aliisq; quā maxime *L'* || 14 is : his ||  
 15 portam *om T'* || 16 inquit *EL'* -d *DT'*

**95,** 1 pom(pon *F'*)peianis ex fuga *L'T'* pompeianus. & fugit *D*  
 pōpeianis fuga *E* | int<sup>a</sup> *EV* inter *DLT* | compulsis *D'UV* comp-  
*LFT* || 2 dari *Vascosan* : dare || 4 obpugnarent *F'* | estu *T'* est *D'*  
 aestu (estu *U'*) fatigati *L'* || 7 industrie *F'* -iae *LUT'* -iose (-ae *D*) *D'*

5 de castrorum defensione cogitabant. neque uero diutius, qui  
in uallo constiterant, multitudinem telorum sustinere potue-  
runt, sed confecti uulneribus locum reliquerunt, protinusque  
omnes ducibus usi centurionibus tribunisque militum in altissi-  
mos monteis, qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt. 15

1 **96.** In castris Pompei uidere licuit trichilas structas,  
magnum argenti pondus expositum, recentibus c<a>espitibus  
tabernacula constrata, Luci etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum  
tabernacula protecta edera multaque pr<a>eterea, quae nimiam  
luxuriam et uictoriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile existi- 5  
mari posset nihil eos de euentu eius diei timuisse, qui non  
2 necessarias conquirerent uoluptates. at hi miserimo ac pa-  
t<i>entissimo exercitu Caesaris luxuriam obiciebant, cui sem-  
3 per omnia ad necessarium usum defuissent. Pompeius, iam  
cum intra uallum nostri uersarentur, equum nactus detractis 10  
insignibus imperatoris decumana porta se ex castris eiecit  
4 protinusque equo citato Larisam contendit. neque ibi con-  
stitit, sed eadem celeritate paucos suos ex fuga nactus  
nocturno itinere non intermisso comitatu equitum xxx ad  
mare peruenit nauemque frumentariam conscendit, s<a>epe, 15  
ut dicebatur, querens tantum se opinionem fefellisse, ut a quo  
genere hominum uictoriam sperasset, ab eo initio fugae facto  
paene proditus uideretur.

1 **97.** Caesar castris potitus a militibus contendit, ne in  
pr<a>eda occupati reliqui negotii gerendi facultatem dimitte-  
2 rent. qua re impetrata montem opere circum munire insti-  
tuit. Pompeiani, quod is mons erat sine aqua, diffisi ei loco  
relicto monte uniuersi iugis eius Larisam uersus <se> reci- 5  
3 pere coeperunt. qua spe animaduersa Caesar copias suas  
diuisit partemque legionum in castris Pompei remanere iussit,

15 montes *D'UT'* -tis *LF*, *T* corr

*c. 96 om E spatio relicto* || 1 In —9 defuissent *del Morstadt* |  
structas *Saumaise* : stratas || 3 lucii *T'L<sup>2</sup>* | etiam Lentuli *om D* ||  
5 existimare *D* -ri  $\beta$  || 7 at] ut *D* | patientissimo *Aldo* : poten-  
(*potex L*)tissimo || 8 exercitui *L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>* || 10 eqū *L<sup>1</sup>* equū *U'T'L<sup>2</sup>* equum *D* ||  
11 imperatoriis *L<sup>2</sup>* | se] sed *D* || 12 larissā *T'* || 16 querens *T'*

**97, 3** munire *D'LT'* -ri *U'* || 4 is *ELFT'* his *DU* || 5 iugis  
*Wasse* : iuris | larissā *EU'* lacrisam *D* larissam *LT'* | <se> *r* || 6 coe-  
perunt *DLUT* cepert *EV* cepert *F* | spe] re *r*



partem in sua castra remisit, IIII secum legiones duxit com-  
 modioreque itinere Pompeianis occurrere coepit et progressus  
 4 mil(ia) pas(sum) VI aciem instruxit. qua re animaduersa 10  
 Pompeiani in quodam monte constiterunt. hunc montem  
 flumen sublebat. Caesar milites cohortatus [est], etsi totius  
 diei continenti labore erant confecti noxque iam suberat, tamen  
 munitione flumen a monte seclisit, ne noctu aquari Pom-  
 5 peiani possent. quo perfecto opere illi de deditioe missis 15  
 legatis agere coeperant. pauci ordinis senatorii, qui se cum  
 is coniunxerant, nocte fuga salutem petiuerunt.

1 98. Caesar prima luce omnes eos, qui in monte con-  
 sederant, ex superioribus locis in planitiem descendere atque  
 2 arma proicere iussit. quod ubi sine recusatione fecerunt  
 passisque palmis proiecti ad terram flentes ab eo salutem  
 petiuerunt, consolatus consurgere iussit et pauca apud eos de 5  
 lenitate sua locutus, quo minore essent timore, omnes con-  
 seruauit militibusque suis commendauit, nequi eorum uiolare  
 3 tur, neu quid sui desiderarent. hac adhibita diligentia ex  
 castris sibi legiones alias occurrere et eas, quas secum duxerat,  
 inuicem requiescere atque in castra reuerti iussit eodemque 10  
 die Larisam peruenit.

1 99. In eo proelio non amplius ducentos milites deside-  
 2 rauit, sed centuriones, fortes uiros, circiter XXX amisit. inter-  
 lectus est etiam fortissime pugnans Crastinus, cuius mentio-  
 3 nem supra fecimus, gladio in os aduersum coniecto. neque  
 id fuit falsum, quod ille in pugnam proficiscens dixerat. sic 5  
 enim Caesar existimabat eo proelio excellentissimam uirtutem  
 4 Crastini fuisse optimeque eum de se meritum iudicabat. ex  
 Pompeiano exercitu circiter mil(ia) XV cecidisse uidebantur,

9 coepit *DLUT* cepit *EFV* || 12 est *del Vascosan* || 14 munitionē *T'* ||  
 15 Quo *EU'T'L<sup>2</sup>* quod *DL<sup>1</sup>* | post opere *spatium 9 litterarum E* |

de dedit(c *FV*)ione *L'V* de, <sup>de</sup> ditione *T* deditioem *D'* || 16 coe(ce *U'*  
 ce *V*)perant *β* coeperunt *DL<sup>2</sup>* ceperunt *E* || 17 is *D'* his *β*

98, 2 planitiem *D'T* -ciem *L'V* || 3 arma *β* <sup>d</sup> arma *D* ad ter|rā  
 arma *E* | ubi *β* dubi *D* illi *E* || 4 terram *β* palmā *D'*

99, 1 ducentos *D'LV* cc *U* .cc. *F* <sup>tos</sup> .cc. *T* || 4 -cimus —5 dixe-  
 om *D* | gladio —5 dixerat om *E*

sed in deditionem uenerunt amplius mil(ia) XXIII (namque etiam cohortes, quae pr<a>esidio in castellis fuerant, sese 10 Syllae dediderunt), multi praeterea in finitimas ciuitates refugerunt, signaque militaria ex proelio ad Caesarem sunt 5 relata CLXXX et aquilae VIII. L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens, cum uires eum lassitudine defecissent, ab equitibus est interfectus. 15

1 100. Eodem tempore D. Laelius cum classe ad Brundisium uenit eademque ratione, qua factum a Libone antea demonstraui-  
mus, insulam obiectam portui Brundisino tenuit. 5  
2 similiter Vatinius, qui Brundisio pr<a>erat, tectis instructisque scaphis elicuit naues Laelianas atque ex his longius pro- 5 ductam unam quinqueremem et minores duas in angustiis portus cepit, itemque per equites dispositos aqua prohibere 3 classarios instituit. sed Laelius tempore anni commodiore usus ad nauigandum onerariis nauibus Corcyra Dyrrachioque aquam suis subportabat neque a proposito deterrebat ne- 10 que ante proelium in Thessalia factum cognitum aut ignominia amissarum nauium aut necessariarum rerum inopia ex portu insulaque expelli potuit.

1 101. Isdem fere temporibus Cassius cum classe Syrorum et Phoenicum et Cilicum in Siciliam uenit, et cum esset Caesaris classis diuissa in duas partes, dimidiai pr<a>e-  
esset P. Sulpicius pr<a>etor Vibone[m] ad fretum, dimidiai 5 M. Pomponius ad Messanam, prius Cassius ad Messanam 5 nauibus aduolauit, quam Pomponius de eius aduentu cognosceret, perturbatumque eum nactus nullis custodiis neque 2

11 syllae (-e LV) **D' LFT'** sillę U || 13 domitius **β** domitas D  
domitus **E'**

100, 4 uatinius **β** uatinus **D'** || 5 scaphis **EU'** schaphis **DLT**  
scaph<sup>is</sup> **V** || 8 anni **β** an<sup>i</sup> **D** ac **E** || 9 corcyra **L'T** corcira **V** cor-  
cysit **D** corcysi **E** | dyrrachio **LUT'** dyrachio **DF** drachio **E** ||  
10 subportabat (-bant **E**) **D'T** supp- **L'V** || 11 thessalia **T'L<sup>2</sup>** -iam  
**D'L** | ignominia **D'LT'** -iā **U'**

101, 1 Isdem **Dβ** hisdē **E** || 2 phoenicū **U'** phaenicū **D** pheni-  
cum **ELT'** | siciliam **DL** (in ras **T**) siciliā **V** sililia **E** || 3 diuissa **D**  
dimissa **E** diuisa **β** | parti **Dβ** parti parte (parte *erasum*) **E** || 4 sul-  
picius **β** sulpitius **D'** | Vibone *Aldo* : ui(iu **T**)bonē (-em **DL**) ||  
5 prius — Messanam *om* **T'** || 7 nactus **β** natus **D'**

ordinibus certis, magno uento et secundo completas onerarias nauis taeda et pice et stuppa reliquisque rebus, quae sunt ad incendia, in Pomponianam classem inmisit atque omnes 10  
 3 naues incendit XXXV, e quibus erant XX constratae. tantus- que eo facto timor incessit, ut cum esset legio praesidio Messanae, uix oppidum defenderetur, et nisi eo ipso tempore quidam nuntii de Caesaris uictoria per dispositos equites essent allati, existimabant plerique futurum fuisse, uti amit- 15  
 4 teretur. sed opportunissime nuntiis adlatis oppidum fuit defensum; Cassiusque ad Sulpicianam inde classem profectus est Vibonem, adplicatisque nostris ad terram nauibus propter eundem timorem pari atque antea ratione egerunt; Cassius secun- 20  
 5 dum nactus uentum onerarias naues <in nostras naues> circiter 20 XL pr<a>eparatas ad incendium inmisit, et flamma ab utroque  
 5 cornu comprehensa naues sunt combustae quinque. cumque ignis magnitudine uenti latius serperet, milites, qui ex ueteribus legionibus erant relictis pr<a>esidio nauibus ex numero aegro- 25  
 6 rum, ignominiam non tulerunt, sed sua sponte naues con- 25 scenderunt et a terra soluerunt impetuque facto in Cassianam classem quinquere-  
 6 meis duas, in quarum altera erat Cassius, ceperunt, sed Cassius exceptus scapha refugit; praeterea duae  
 7 sunt depressae triremes. neque multo post de proelio facto

8 completas *D* impletas *E* cōpletas *FT'* copletis<sup>a</sup> *U* complet(ō)s *L* ||  
 9 naues *D'L'V* naues & *T* | et (ante st-) om *L* | stuppa *DLU* stuppam *E*  
 stupa *FT'* || 10 ad *D'T'* apta ad *L* | pomponianā *r* : pompeianā *β*  
 pompeicenam *D'* || 11 constratae *D'T'* rostratę *F* rostrate *U*  
 rostratę *L* || 14 per — equites *del Ramorino* | per dispositos om *L* ||

(2)  
 15 uti (ut iā *E* ut *F*) amitteretur *D'L'* uti ad mitter&² *T* uti  
 amitteret² *V* || 16 adlatis *D'U'T'* adlatis *E* allatis *L* | fuit] st *Nip-*  
*perdey* || 17 sulpicianā *LUT* sulpitianam *D'FV* | inde classem pfectus  
 est (est om *V*) uibonem *β* inte classem pfectus est uibonem *D* uibonē  
 profectus est inter classē *E* || 18 nostri *Oudendorp* || 19 cassius *β*  
 cassiusq; *D'* || 20 nactus *D* nactus *Eβ* | <in nostras naues>  
*Buecheler* || 22 comprehensa *D* cōphensa *E* compressa *β* | naues sunt  
 com(con *L*)bustę (-e *L*<sup>1</sup>) *L'* naues combustę (-e *D*) *D'T* cōbustę  
 naues *V* | quinq. *D'LFT* <sup>q;</sup> *U* .v. *V* || 23 serperet *D'T'L*<sup>2</sup> ser-  
 perent *L'* || 24 egrorum *LFT* egr- *UV* exgr- *D'* || 26 cassianam *β*  
 asianam *D'* || 27 quinq; remes *D* qnq, biremes *E* quinq. (.v. *V*)  
 remis *β* || 28 scapha *U'V* schafa *DL* scafa *E* schaphaz *T* | refugit  
*EU* pr. *VL*<sup>2</sup> refugiit *DL<sup>1</sup>FT*, *U* corr || 29 depressae *mg. Vascosan* :  
 depreņę *U* depreņse *DLV* captę *E* depreņę *T* depreņę *F*



in Thessalia cognitum est, ut ipsis Pompeianis fides fieret; 30  
nam ante id tempus fingi a legatis amicisque Caesaris arbi-  
trabantur. quibus rebus cognitis ex his locis Cassius cum  
classe discessit.

1 **102.** Caesar omnibus rebus relictis persequendum sibi  
Pompeium existimavit, quascumque in partes se ex fuga  
recepisset, ne rursus copias comparare alias et bellum reno-  
uare posset, et quantumcumque itineris equitatu efficere  
poterat, cotidie progrediebatur legionemque unam minoribus 5  
2 itineribus subsequi iussit. erat edictum Pompei nomine Am-  
phipoli propositum, uti omnes eius prouinciae iuniores, Graeci  
3 ciuesque Romani, iurandi causa conuenirent. sed utrum auer-  
tendae suspicionis causa Pompeius proposuisset, ut quam  
diutissime longioris fugae consilium occultaret, an nouis di- 10  
lectibus, si nemo premeret, Macedoniam tenere conaretur,  
4 existimari non poterat. ipse ad ancoram una nocte constitit  
e[t]uocatis ad se Amphipoli hospitibus et pecunia ad neces-  
sarios sumptus conrogata cognitoque Caesaris aduentu ex  
5 eo loco discessit et Mytil(en)as paucis diebus uenit. biduum 15  
tempestate retentus nauibusque aliis additis actuariis in Cili-  
6 ciam atque inde Cyprum peruenit. ibi cognoscit consensu  
omnium Antiocensium ciuiumque Romanorum, qui illic  
negotiarentur, arcem captam esse excludendi sui causa nun-  
tiosque dimissos ad eos, qui se ex fuga in finitimas re- 20  
cepisse dicerentur, ne Antiochiam adirent; id si fecissent,

30 thessalia *LUT'* thessaliā *F* tessadiam *D* tessaliā *E*

**102,** 2 quascumq. *L'* quamcūq. *D'T* quacūq; *V* | partes *L'* -tē  
*D'* -te *T'* | se ex *D'V* se ef *L'* se<sup>e</sup>x *T* ex *U'* (§ϕ effugāre ce-  
piss& *L*) || 3 recepisset *ELUT'* recepisset *D* <sup>so</sup>recepiss& *F* || 8 auer-  
tendę (-e *LV*) *E* *pr.* β aduertendae *D*, *E* *corr* || 9 suspicionis *D'V*  
suspitionis *L'T* || 12 ancorā *E* anchorā (-oϕ *L* *pr*) *Dβ* | una nocte  
*D'UV* unā nocte *T* unam nocte *L* || 13 euocatis *Buecheler* : et  
uocatis || 14 conrogata *DU'T'* cūm<sup>or</sup>- *L* irr- *E* | q; *Dβ*, om *E* ||  
15 mitilenas *r* : my thy las *D* mytylas *E* myth(*L* mith- *U'T* mit-  
*V*)ilas β || 16 que *del Paul* | ciliciam *L'V,T* *corr* cilitiā *D'* siciliā  
*T* *pr* || 17 cyprum *D'LUT'* ciprū *FV* | ibi β, *D* *corr* ubi *D'* || 18 an-  
tiocensium *ELUT'* antiochensiū *F* antio concīū *D* || 19 arcē *F*, *Umg*  
arcē arā *L* aram *D'UT'* || 20 dimissos *D'LFV* dimissis<sup>o</sup> *UT* ||  
21 id *T'L*<sup>a</sup> ipsi *L'*, om *D'*

7 magno eorum capitis periculo futurum. idem hoc L. Lentulo,  
 qui superiore anno co(n)s(ul) fuerat, et P. Lentulo consulari  
 ac nonnullis aliis acciderat Rhodi; qui cum[que] ex fuga  
 Pompeium sequerentur atque in insulam uenissent, oppido ac <sup>25</sup>  
 portu recepti non erant missisque ad eos nuntiis, ut ex his  
 locis discederent, contra uoluntatem suam naues soluerunt.  
 8 iamque de Caesaris aduentu fama ad ciuitates perferebatur.

1       **103.** Quibus cognitis rebus Pompeius deposito adeundae  
 Syriae consilio pecunia societatibus sublata et a quibusdam  
 priuatis sumpta et aeris magno pondere ad militarem usum  
 in naues inposito duobusque milibus hominum armatis, par-  
 tim quos ex familiis societatum delegerat, partim a negotia- <sup>5</sup>  
 toribus coegerat, quosque ex suis quisque ad hanc rem ido-  
 2 neos existimabat, Pelusium peruenit. ibi casu rex erat  
 Ptolom(a)eus, puer aetate, magnis copiis cum sorore Cleopatra  
 bellum gerens, quam paucis ante mensibus per suos propin-  
 quos atque amicos regno expulerat; castraque Cleopatrae non <sup>10</sup>  
 3 longo spatio ab eius castris distabant. ad eum Pompeius  
 misit, ut pro hospitio atque amicitia patris Alexandria reci-  
 4 peretur atque illius opibus in calamitate tegeretur. sed qui  
 ab eo missi erant, confecto legationis officio liberius cum  
 militibus regis conloqui coeperunt eosque hortari, ut suum <sup>15</sup>  
 officium Pompeio pr(a)estarent neue eius fortunam despice-  
 5 rent. in hoc erant numero complures Pompei milites, quos  
 ex eius exercitu acceptos in Syria[m] Gabinius Alexandriam  
 traduxerat belloque confecto apud Ptolom(a)eum, patrem pueri,  
 reliquerat. 20

1       **104.** His tunc cognitis rebus amici regis, qui propter

24 rhodi *L' T* rodii *V* rodī) *D* olī. *E* | qui cum *Orsini* : quicumq. ||  
 26 ut *VL*<sup>2</sup>, om *D' L' T* | ex his *β* & his *D* ipsis *E* || 27 suam *E*  
 suas *Dβ* | soluerunt *L'* soluerent *DT'* soluere iuebantur *E*, solue-  
 rant *Vascosan*

**103**, 2 sirię *U'* | a om *T'* || 6 quosq.] quos *Madvig* || 7 erat om *T'* ||  
 8 ptolomeus *DFV* pthol- *ELUT* || 13 qui *U' T' L*<sup>2</sup> quia *D' L*<sup>1</sup> ||  
 15 conloqui *Dβ* colloq<sup>1</sup> *E* | ceperunt *D' LU* cep- *FT'* || 16 p̄starent  
*E* prestare *D* prestaret *β* | despice(-c ex f? *D*)erent *D'* despiceret *β* ||  
 18 syria *r* : sy(si *F*)riam | Gabinius *r* : gauinius *β* gaunus *D'* ||  
 19 ptholomeum *D' LT* thol- *U* ptol- *F* tpol- *V*

**104**, 1 tum *Paul*

aetatem eius in procuratione erant regni, siue timore adducti, ut postea pr<a>edicabant, sollicitato exercitu regio, ne Pompeius Alexandriam Aegyptumque occuparet, siue despecta eius fortuna, ut plerumque in calamitate ex amicis inimici existunt, 5 [h]is, qui erant ab eo missi, palam liberaliter responderunt eumque ad regem uenire iusserunt; ipsi clam consilio inito Achillam, [in] praefectum regionum, [singium] singulari hominem audacia, et L. Septimium, tr(ibunum) mil(itum), ad interficiendum Pompeium miserunt. ab his liberaliter ipse 10 appellatus et quadam notitia Septimi perductus, quod bello praedonum apud eum ordinem duxerat, nauiculam paruulam conscendit cum paucis suis; ibei ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur. item L. Lentulus comprehenditur ab rege et in custodia necatur. 15

1 **105.** Caesar cum in Asiam uenisset, reperiēbat Titum Ampium conatum esse pecunias tollere Epheso ex fano Dianae eiusque rei causa senatores omnes ex prouincia euocauisse, ut his testibus in summam pecuniae uteretur, sed interpella- 2 tum aduentu Caesaris profugisse. ita duobus temporibus 5 Ephesiae pecuniae Caesar auxilium tulit \* \* \* item constabat Elide in templo Mineruae repetitis atque enumeratis diebus, quo die proelium secundum Caesar fecisset, simulacrum Victoriae, quod ante ipsam Mineruam conlocatum esset et ante ad simulacrum Mineruae spectauisset, ad ualuas se templi limen- 10 que conuertisse. eodemque die Antiochiae in Syria bis tantus exercitus clamor et signorum sonus exauditus est, ut in muris 5 armata ciuitas discurreret. hoc idem Ptolomaide accidit. Per-

2 curatione *T* | regni *β* regnis *D'* || 4 e(e *EV*)gyptū *ELV* ae(e *U*)-  
giptum *DU'T* || 6 is : his || 8 in *om E* | singium *D'L'*, *T corr* signiū  
*T pr* singiū *V*, *del L corr* || 11 septimi *LU* -mii *D'FT'* | perductus  
*Buecheler* : productus || 13 ibi *DŪ'T'* & ibi *E*, *om L* || 14 comprehenditur *DF* comprehen- *ELUT'*

**105,** 1 asia *T'* | reperiēbat *DL'* repp- *ET'* || 2 ampiū *L'*  
apium *T'* appium *D'* | phano *L'* || 3 euocauisse *DL'* uocasse *E*  
euocauiss& (-asset *V*) *T'* || 4 summam *DL'* summa *ET'* || 5 pfugisset *T'* || 6 \* \* \* *Glandorp* | item —19 ostendebatur *del Morstadt* ||  
8 fecisset *β* fecit *D'* | simulacrum *D'U'* -chrum *LT'* || 9 conlocatum  
*DLUT'* collocatū *EF* || 10 si(sy *E*)mulacrum *D'U'* simulachrum  
*LT'* || 11 siria *U'T* || 13 ptolomaide (-e *V*) *EFV* ptholomaide (-ae  
*LUT*) *DLUT*



gamique in occultis ac reconditis templi[s], quo praeter sacer-  
doteis adire fas non est, quae Gr<a>eci ἄδυτα appellant, 15  
6 tymphana sonuerunt. item Trallibus in templo Victoriae,  
ubi Caesaris statuam consecrauerant, palma per eos dies  
[in tecto] inter coagmenta lapidum ex pauimento extitisse  
ostendebatur.

1 **106.** Caesar paucos dies in Asia moratus cum audisset  
Pompeium Cypri uisum, coniectans eum Aegyptum iter habere  
propter necessitudines regni reliquasque eius loci oportunita-  
tes cum leg(ione) una, quam se ex Thessalia sequi iusserat,  
et altera, quam ex Achaia a Q. Fufio legato euocauerat, equi 5  
tibusque DCCC et nauibus longis Rhodiis x et Asiaticis paucis  
2 Alexandream peruenit. in his erant legionibus hominum mil(ia)  
III CC; reliqui uulneribus ex proeliis et labore ac magnitudine  
3 itineris confecti consequi non potuerant. sed Caesar confisus  
fama rerum gestarum infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubita- 10  
4 uerat aequae omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimans. Alexan-  
dreae de Pompei morte cognoscit atque ibi primum e nauei  
egrediens clamorem militum audit, quos rex in oppido pr<a>e-  
sidi causa reliquerat, et concursum ad se fieri uidet, quod  
fascēs anteferrentur. in hoc omnis multitudo maiestatem 15  
5 regiam minui pr<a>edicabat. hoc sedato tumultu crebrae  
continuis diebus ex concursu multitudinis concitationes fiebant  
conpluresque milites huius urbis omnibus partibus interficie-  
bantur.

1 **107.** Quibus rebus animaduersis legiones sibi alias ex

14 q. β, om D' | reconditis L' reconitis D remotis E recognitis T' |  
templi Lambin : templis | prater D preter Eβ | sacerdotes D' L' V  
saēdotis T || 15 ἄδυτα Aldo : adita || 16 ty(ti EFT)mphana D' L' T  
tympāna V | Item β, om D' | Trallibus Beroaldo : trailib. DFT'  
trabibus E tra hilib; L in trailibus U || 18 in tecto] del Held |  
coagmenta β caugmenta D'

**106,** 2 egyptū V egyptum EL ae(e U'T)giptum DU'T ||  
4 legione β -nes D nib; E || 5 a q̄ D a Q. E a. q. T que V atq.  
(atque L) L' | fufio D' fusio β | q. om L || 7 alexandream DF -iam  
ELUT' || 11 aequae Nipperdey : atque Dβ, om E | existimabat L' |  
alexandreae DF -iae ELUT' || 12 nauī D' na(ná T)ue β || 13 p̄sidi  
V pr -dii cett., V corr || 17 concitat(-c V)iones β contitationes D  
cuncta(-a ex e)tiones E || 18 conplures D cōplures Eβ | huius] in uis  
Madvig

**107,** 1 alias] duas R. Schneider

Asia adduci iussit, quas ex Pompeianis militibus confecerat. ipse enim necessario etesiis tenebatur, qui nauigantibus  
 2 Alexandria flant aduersissimi uenti. interim controuersias  
 regum ad p(opulum) R(omanum) et ad se, quod esset consul, 5  
 pertinere existimans atque eo magis officio suo conuenire,  
 quod superiore consulatu cum patre Ptolom(a)eo et lege et  
 senatus consulto societas erat facta, ostendit sibi placere regem  
 Ptolom(a)eum atque eius sororem Cleopatram exercitus, quos  
 haberent, dimittere et de controuersiis iure apud se potius 10  
 quam inter se armis disceptare.

1 108. Erat in procuratione regni propter aetatem pueri  
 nutricius eius, eunuchus nomine Pothinus. is primum inter  
 suos queri atque indignari coepit regem ad causam dicendam  
 2 euocari; deinde adiutores quosdam consili sui nactus ex  
 regis amicis exercitum a Pelusio clam Alexandriam euocauit 5  
 atque eundem Achillam, cuius supra meminimus, omnibus  
 3 copiis praefecit. hunc incitatum suis et regis inflatum polli-  
 4 citationibus, quae fieri uellet, litteris nuntiisque edocuit. in  
 testamento Ptolom(a)ei patris heredes erant scripti ex  
 duobus filiis maior et ex duabus ea, quae aetate ante cede- 10  
 5 bat. haec uti fierent, per omnes deos perque foedera, quae  
 Romae fecisset, eodem testamento Ptolom(a)eus p(opulum)  
 6 R(omanum) obtestabatur. tabulae testamenti unae per legatos  
 eius Romam erant adlatae, ut in aerario ponerentur (haec  
 cum propter publicas occupationes poni non potuissent, apud 15

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3 &esiis *D* &he(-ę *T*)siis *U' T'* ethessiis *L* & hesitatione *E* | tenebatur *ELU*, *F corr* morabat<sup>2</sup> *F pr* tenebantur *DT'* || 4 flant *Paul* : fiunt || 7 ptolomeo *FV* pthol- *D'T* p̄thol- *L* thol- *U* || 9 ptolomeū *FV* ptho(o *ex u D?*)lomeū *DLUT* ptholomeus *E*

108, 2 nutricius *LFT'* -itius *D'U* | pothinus *DL'* photinus *ET'* || 3 coepit *DU* ce- *ELF* cę- *T'* || 4 consilii sui *Estienne* : consociis suis *D'* consocii suis *T'* consocios sui *L'* | nactus *D* nuntiis *E* nactus *β* | ex *L'*, om *D'T'* || 5 pelusio *D'L*<sup>2</sup> pulesio *β* | alexandriā *β*, om *D'* || 7 p̄fecit *EL'* prae(p̄ *T'*)ficat *DT'* || 9 ptolomei *FV* pthol- *D' LUT* | erant scripti *DLT* scripti erant *E* erant scriptis *U'* erant c̄scripti *V* || 10 ex duabus om *L* || 11 que *LFT* quae *UV* quem *D* q̄s *E* || 12 ptolomeus *LFV* ptol- *E* pthol- *DUT* || 13 unę *L'V* una *D'T* || 14 romam *r* : romae *DLT'* rome *EU'* | adlate *D* allate *Eβ* | haec *D* hec *L'* hę *ET'*



Pompeium sunt depositae), alterae eodem exemplo relictæ atque obsignatæ Alexandreae proferebantur.

1       **109.** De his rebus cum ageretur apud Caesarem, isque  
maxime uellet pro communi amico atque arbitro controuersias  
regum componere, subito exercitus regius equitatusque omnis  
2 uenire Alexandriam nuntiatur. Caesaris copiae nequaquam  
erant tantæ, ut eis, extra oppidum si esset dimicandum, con- 5  
fideret. relinquebatur, ut se suis locis oppido teneret con-  
3 siliumque Achillae cognosceret. milites tamen omnes in armis  
esse iussit regemque hortatus est, ut ex suis necessariis, quos  
haberet maximæ auctoritatis, legatos ad Achillam mitteret  
4 et, quid esset suæ uoluntatis, ostenderet. a quo missi Diosco- 10  
rides et Serapion, qui ambo legati Romæ fuerant magnam-  
que apud patrem Ptolom<a>eum auctoritatem habuerant, ad  
5 Achillam peruenerunt. quos ille, cum in conspectum eius  
uenissent, priusquam audiret aut, cuius rei causa missi essent,  
cognosceret, corripit atque interficere iussit; quorum alter ac- 15  
cepto uulnere occupatus per suos pro occiso sublatus, alter  
6 interfectus est. quo facto, regem ut in sua potestate haberet,  
Caesar efficit magnamque regium nomen apud suos aucto-  
ritatem habere existimans, et ut potius priuato paucorum et  
latronum quam regio consilio susceptum bellum uideretur. 20

1       **110.** Erant cum Achilla e<ae> copiae, ut neque numero  
neque genere hominum neque usu rei militaris contemnendæ  
2 uiderentur. milia enim XX in armis habebat. hæc consta-  
bant ex Gabinianis militibus, qui iam in consuetudinem  
Alexandrinae uitæ ac licentiæ uenerant et nomen discipli- 5  
namque p(opuli) R(omani) <de>didicerant uxoresque duxerant,  
3 ex quibus plerique liberos habebant. huc accedebant collecti

16 alterę (-e *LT'*)  $\beta$  altare *D* atq, *E* || 17 alexandreae *U'* -dræ *D*  
-drię (-æ *U corr*) *ELT'*

**109,** 6 suisq; *U* || 8 ut ex (ex *om V*) suis  $\beta$  ut exius *D* eius *E* ||  
9 mitteret  $\beta$  -re *D'* || 10 diosc(-ch *L*)orides  $\beta$  dioscordes *D'* || 12 pto-  
lomeū *LFV* phtol- *D'UT* || 13 achillā *EL'V* achillan *D* aachillan  
*T* | conspectū *DL'* -u *ET'* || 14 audiret *D'* adiret *LUT'*, *om F cum*  
*nota* || 15 interficit *D* int̄fici *Eβ* | accepto —16 alter *om T'* ||  
18 effecit *r*

**110,** 1 Achilla eae *Paul* : achillae *DUT'* achilla *ELF*, *T corr* ||  
2 contemnendę (-e *DU* -is *E*) *D'U'* contempnende *LT'* || 6 dedi-  
dicerant *L<sup>2</sup>* : didicerant



ex pr⟨a⟩edonibus latronibusque Syriae Ciliciaeque prouinciae  
 finitimarumque regionum; multi pr⟨a⟩eterea capitis damnati  
 4 exulesque conuenerant. fugitiuis omnibus nostris certus erat 10  
 Alexandriae receptus certaue uitae conditio, ut dato nomine  
 militum esse⟨n⟩t numero; quorum siquis a domino prehen-  
 deretur, consensu militum eripiebatur, qui uim suorum, quod  
 in simili culpa uersabantur, ipsi pro suo periculo defendebant.  
 5 hi regum amicos ad mortem deposcere, hi bona locupletum 15  
 diripere, stipendi augendi causa regis domum obsidere, regno  
 expellere alios, alios arcessere uetere quodam Alexandrini  
 exercitus instituto consuerant. erant pr⟨a⟩eterea equitum milia  
 6 duo. inueterauerant hi omnes compluribus Alexandriae bellis,  
 Ptolom⟨a⟩eum patrem in regnum reduxerant, Bibuli filios 20  
 duos interfecerant, bella cum Aegyptiis gesserant. hunc  
 usum rei militaris habebant.

1 111. His copiis fidens Achilles paucitatemque militum  
 Caesaris despiciens occupabat Alexandream praeter ea⟨m⟩  
 oppidi partem, quam Caesar cum militibus tenebat, primo  
 impetu domum eius inrumpere conatus; sed Caesar dispositis  
 2 per uias cohortibus impetum eius sustinuit. eodemque tem- 5  
 pore pugnatum est ad portum, ac longe maximam ea res  
 3 adtulit dimicationem. simul enim diductis copiis pluribus uiis  
 pugnabatur et magna multitudine naueis longas occupare  
 hostes conabantur; quarum erant L auxilio missae ad Pom-  
 peium proelioque in Thessalia facto domum redierant, IIII remes 10

8 syriae (-e V) DT' sirię (-e E) EL' || 9 dā(dan D)nati D'L'  
 dāpnati T' || 10 omnibus β hominibus D hominib; E || 11 alexandree  
 U pr ale(-æ F)xandrię (-e L) ELFT', U corr alexandræ D ||  
 12 essent r : esset D'LT' eē (ēē F) U' | quorum om T' | p̄(præ  
 D)henderetur DU' T cōprehendebat<sup>2</sup> E c̄phenderet<sup>2</sup> V p̄meret<sup>2</sup> L ||  
 15 regū L<sup>2</sup> : rerum | mortē L morem D'U'T' | hi D'T' hii L  
 ii U' || 16 stipendii T' -dia D'L' || 17 alios. alios E alios Dβ |  
 arcessere DL'T' arcersere E arcescere V || 18 erant om L' || 19 in-  
 ueterauerant β -runt D q̄ irritauerant E | hi (hii L) om̄s L' V  
 homnes D homines T, om E | alexandree U -drię (-e L) ELFT'  
 -dræ D || 20 ptolomeū LV ptho(ptō E)lomeum D'U'T' || 21 e(e ET')-  
 gyptiis EFT' æ(e LU)giptiis DLU | hinc E corr

111, 2 alexandræ D -iā Eβ | eam Clarke : ea || 4 inrumpere  
 DU'T irrūp- ELV || 5 cohortibus] a cohortib; U, F corr || 6 maximā  
 β -me D' || 7 adtulit D att- Eβ || 8 naues D'L -is U'T' ||  
 10 iuremes Paul : illę (-e DLFT) triremes

omnes et quinqueremes aptae instructaeque omnibus rebus  
ad nauigandum, praeter has XXII, quae pr<a>esidii causa  
4 Alexandriae esse consuerant, constratae omnes; quas si oc-  
cupauissent, classe Caesari[s] erepta portum ac mare totum  
in sua potestate haberent, commeatu auxiliisque Caesarem 15  
5 prohiberent. itaque tanta est contentione actum, quanta agi  
debeuit, cum ille*i* celerem in ea re uictoriam, hi salutem suam  
6 consistere uiderent. sed rem optinuit Caesar omnesque eas  
naues et reliquas, quae erant in naualibus, incendit, quod tam  
late tuerei parua manu non poterat, confestimque ad Pharum 20  
nauibus milites exposuit.

1        112. Pharus est in insula turris magna altitudine, miri-  
2 ficis operibus extracta; quae nomen ab insula cepit. haec  
insula obiecta Alexandriae portum efficit; sed a superioribus  
regi[oni]bus in longitudinem pas(sum) DCCCC in mare iactis  
molibus angusto itinere et ponte cum oppido coniungitur. 5  
3 in hac sunt insula domicilia Aegyptiorum et uicus oppidi  
magnitudine; quaeque ubique naues imprudentia au tempestate  
paulum suo cursu decesserunt, has more pr<a>edonum diri-  
4 pere consuerunt. is autem inuitis, a quibus Pharos tenetur,  
non potest esse propter angustias nauibus introitus in portum. 10  
5 hoc tum ueritus Caesar hostibus in pugna occupatis militi-  
busque expositis Pharonprehendit atque ibi pr<a>esidium po-  
6 suit. quibus est rebus effectum, uti tuto frumentum auxiliisque  
nauibus ad eum subportari possent. [de aux] misit enim cir-  
cum omnes propinquas prouincias atque inde auxilia euocauit. 15

11 apte (-e T) β apace D in pace E | reb. β, om D' || 13 alexan-  
dreę T -drieę EL' V -dræ D | consuerant DU'T' consueuer- EL †  
14 Caesari Lips : ce(U' T' caes- D ce- EL)saris || 15 cō(cū V)meatu β  
commeatū D' || 16 agi β accidere D' || 17 ille D'L'T illi V | hi  
DT hiq, E hí L ii U' in V || 18 optinuit L'T obt- D' V || 20 late  
(-ę U')tueri β lata &ueri D lata &uere E | n̄ poterat (-tuerat L) β  
om poterat D obtinuerat E | pharum DT' phrū E farū L'

112, 2 cepit L cepit FV coepit U accepit D' T || 3 alexandreę  
(-raeae D) DT' -rieę EL' V | a (á V) Eβ ad D || 4 regib. L corr :  
regionibus || 6 ae(e LU)gyptiorum DL'T egyptiorum EV || 7 que]  
qui T' | au D<sup>1</sup> aut cett. D<sup>2</sup> || 9 Is T' lis D his EL' | pharos DU'  
pharus ELT' || 12 q. om T | pharon D' U' phōrone<sup>a ra</sup> L phonone L<sup>1</sup>  
pharū T' || 14 subpor(-o<sup>r</sup> T)tari D' T supportari LV | misit Buecheler :  
D(DD)eauxit

7 reliquis oppidi partibus sic est pugnatum, ut aequo proelio  
 discederetur et neutrei pellerentur (id efficiebant angustiae  
 loci), paucisque utrimque interfectis Caesar loca maxime ne-  
 8 cessaria complexus noctu pr<a>emunit. in eo tractu oppidi  
 pars erat regiae exigua, in quam ipse habitandi causa initio 20  
 erat inductus, et theatrum coniunctum domui, quod arcis  
 tenebat locum aditusque habebat ad portum et ad reliqua  
 9 naualia. has munitiones insequentibus auxit diebus, ut pro muro  
 10 obiectas haberet neu dimicare inuitus cogeretur. interim filia  
 minor Ptolom<a>ei regis uacuum possessionem regni sperans 25  
 ad Achillam sese ex regia traiecit unaque bellum administrare  
 11 coepit. sed celeriter est inter eos de principatu controuersia  
 orta, quae res apud milites largitiones auxit; magnis enim  
 12 iacturis sibi quisque eorum animos conciliabat. haec dum  
 apud hostes geruntur, Pothinus, nutricius pueri et procurator 30  
 regni, in parte Caesaris, cum ad Achillam nuntios mitteret  
 hortareturque, ne negotio desisteret neue animo deficeret, [et]  
 indicatis deprehensisque internuntiis a Caesare est interfectus.  
 haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.

17 neutri re *V* neutri *D'L'T* || 19 connexus *D* est cōplexus *E* cō (am  
*F*)plexus  $\beta$  | noctu *L'T* -e *V* -um *D* Notiū *E* | p̄muniti neo tratu *D*  
 p̄munitū. neotritū *E* p̄munit. nec tractu *L'* p̄muniti (muniti. *V*)  
 nec tractu *T'* || 23 naualia  $\beta$  Haudia *D* nauigia *E* || 25 ptolomei *DFV*  
 pthol- *ELUT* | uacuā  $\beta$  -ua *D'* || 26 ad om *U'* || 26. 31 achillan *U* ||  
 27 coepit *DU'T* cepit *EL* cep̄ *V* || int̄ eos  $\beta$ , om *D'* || 28 enī iacturis  $\beta$   
 emiñacturis *D* enī aucturis *E* || 30 nutricius  $\beta$  -itius *D'* || 31 parte (-tes  
*U*) *D'L'V* -tē *T* || 32 & *DT'*, om *EL* || 33 int̄nuntiis (<sup>int</sup>nunciis *F*)  $\beta$   
 internuntios *D* nuntiis int̄ eos *E* || 34 haec — fuerunt om *L*

BELLI CIVILIS · LIBER · III · (· III · erasum) EXPLICIT · INCIPIT · C ·  
 CAESARIS BELLUO ALEXANDRINUO: H̄S · (deinde minio Liber. xi<sup>o</sup>) *D*

BELLI CIVILIS LIB<sup>us</sup> III EXPLICIT ∴ INCIPIT III · LIB IVLI CONSTANTINI  
 CAESARIS BELLV̄ ALEXANDRINV̄ ∴ *E*

CAESARIS BELLI CIVILIS · LIB. III · EXPLICIT INCIPIT BELLV̄ ALEXANDRIN<sup>2</sup> · *L*  
 GAI CAESARIS BELLI CIVILIS LIBER · III · EXPLICIT · FELICITER · INCIPIT BELLV̄  
 ALEXANDRINVM. *U*

G. CAESARIS BELLI CIVILIS LIB III EXPLICIT. INCIPIT BELLV̄ ALEXAN-  
 DRINVO. *F*

EXPLICIT LIB III. BELLI CIVILIS · INCIPIT · C · CAESARIS BELLV̄ ALEXAN-  
 DRINV̄ FELICITER *T*, om *V*.



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 \* *u.* denarius  
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# CLAVIS DIPLOMATICA

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